



Daily Report

East Europe

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Bosnian Peace Talks To Open in Geneva 27 Jul

LD2407161493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1517 GMT
24 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, July 24 (TANJUG)—Peace talks on ethnic war-ridden Bosnia-Herzegovina, after two postponements, should open in Geneva on Tuesday morning [27 July], spokesman for the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia John Mills said on Saturday.

Mills told newsmen that Bosnia's Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic agreed to come to the Geneva talks to join other participants. To this effect, Mills said, the two leaders had notified Lord Owen, one of the cochairmen, on Saturday.

The Moslem side had sought a postponement hoping, as it said, for "attacks on Sarajevo to be stopped, water supply restored, and free movement of relief convoys ensured" by July 27.

The Serb and Moslem sides on Friday agreed on a cease-fire in Sarajevo as of 10.00 a.m. (0800 GMT) Sunday, Mills said. They reached the agreement through mediation by the UNPROFOR (U.N. Protection Force).

Mills said that Karadzic, in his letter to cochairmen Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, had suggested the talks be put off until autumn. He did not want to say what Owen replied to Karadzic.

He said the cochairmen insisted on the urgency of the talks and reiterated their resolve for the talks to last as long as the final accord was reached for this ex-Yugoslav republic ravaged in the past sixteen months by an ethnic and civil war among the local Serbs, Croats and Moslems.

Mills could not tell whether the other participants in the talks—presidents of the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and leader of Bosnian Croats Mate Boban—had confirmed their arrival in Geneva on Tuesday. He only said that Milosevic and Tudjman had earlier told Lord Owen they were prepared to accept every invitation by the cochairmen.

Serreqi on Problems in Relations With Greece

AU2307173993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Report by Arben Karapici]

[Text] Tirana has once again given a clear signal to official Athens that relations with our oldest Balkan neighbor cannot proceed on the road of imposing on one another, even less so using political and diplomatic pressures. Nevertheless, Tirana is hoping for a solution of goodwill regarding the Athens crisis. This was the focus of the news conference that Mr. Alfred Serreqi held at the Foreign Ministry today.

The chief of the new Albanian diplomacy dispensed with any talk of good neighborliness when he said that these relations depend on the approach Greece decides to take on our country's reforms, the stance Athens maintains on what is left of the former Yugoslavia, and how it judges the rights of the Arvanitas [ethnic Albanians] in Greece, along with those of the Cam population living in Albania.

Serreqi later dwelt on the problem of refugees and the anti-Albanian activity of the Greek Church and called these positions, as well as those mentioned above, completely unacceptable for Albania. It is not the church that defines the relations between Greece and Albania, and it would be very naive to think that all these woes came from the priest's expulsion.

Affirming all the rights that the Greek minority enjoys—the same rights enjoyed by the Albanians—the Albanian foreign minister said that our policy is devoid of any hint of prejudice; that is, it is realistic. European Parliament President Egon Klepsch recognized these rights himself. The Albanian foreign minister asserted that the high CSCE commissioner for minorities will come to Albania to witness this reality himself. He told correspondents that the top CSCE official for minorities has been invited by President of the Republic Sali Berisha himself.

Mr. Serreqi considered the similarity that Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis places between the Greek minority in Albania and the Albanian people of Kosovo as an absurdity inspired by Belgrade. He forcefully turned down the Greek claims, according to which the Cams have been collaborating with the occupier. Mr. Serreqi said that the Greeks have conducted a policy of genocide against the Cams, even before their violent expulsion to Albania.

The Albanian foreign minister is hoping for a solution of goodwill to the Athens crisis, which he considers important in improving the climate of relations between both countries and their progress on a proper road.

Leaving the chapter on the southern neighbor open, Mr. Serreqi expressed his views on the Bosnian refugee problem. Responding to a question about this problem, he implied that Albania will contribute to help the Bosnian refugees and create possibilities for rescuing them.

Concerning his meeting yesterday with his Montenegrin counterpart, Mr. Serreqi said that a distinction should be

made between Serbia and Montenegro; Albania makes it, and the Albanian Government does not place them on the same level.

REPUBLIKA Assesses Greek Claims on Aid to Country

AU2407132493 Tirana ATA in English 1012 GMT 23 Jul 93

[ATA report on REPUBLIKA article: "Greece Assisted by Albania"]

[Text] Tirana, July 22 (ATA)—The newspaper REPUBLIKA writes in an article devoted to the Greek aid for Albania that no one denies the aid of the neighbouring Greek people for Albania. Here it is about the Albanian refugees in Greece and some millions of dollars the Greek state gave to the Albanian state.

Greece's aid to Albania has been clamorously advertised at the European Community, its structures and world community, without mentioning Greek mass media. This creates the idea that "Greece is saving Albania," the newspaper writes. The money donated by the Greek state are multiplied to millions so as to take advantage of them for political goals in a certain case. Neighbouring Greece comes bottom in the European Community and broader concerning the aid for Albania. It comes after Italy which accounts for more than 30 percent of assistance, after the U.S.A., Turkey, Germany, etc.

But what did Greece give to Albania over the last two-three years?, the newspaper asks. They say that during 1991-1992 Albania received from Greece 13.6 million dollars humanitarian aid. This would be a great aid had Albania taken these millions. The truth is that the most part of this amount includes the expenses of the Greek state on medical service for the Albanian refugees in Greece. How many Albanian refugees are there in Greece?

When it is about recording expenditure for vaccination and treatment, the number of refugees increases. No one says that there are 150 thousand refugees but more than 200 thousand refugees. The total of refugees increases when it is about reckoning the crimes committed in Greece over the last two years. We guess that vaccination of refugees and expenditure on transporting 5,000 tons of flour do not take 13 million dollars.

Since 1991 the Greek Government endorsed 20 million dollars credit for Albania, the newspaper writes. Now it is 1993 and Albania has received only 7.9 million dollars out of this credit. Besides, Greece wanted to provide "other help" to Albania. Based on the Greek policy as regards the minority, on March 6, 1991, the Greek Government submitted the request to the Council of Europe to withdraw 54 million ecu from the social development fund to implement an investment program in order to prevent possible exodus. The Greek Government repeated the request in June 1991. This time it did not require 54 million ecu but 114 million ECU [European Currency Unit] (that is more than 130 million dollars). The Greek Government justified this with the establishment of 12

centers for the Albanian refugees of Greek origin. It is quite clear why the Greek chauvinistic government requires so great amounts from the Council of Europe to welcome the Albanian refugees of Greek origin and integrate them to life in Greece.

Through this step, the Greek chauvinistic policy wants to pinpoint the large number of Greek minority group in Albania and to indicate the "anti-Greek" policy of the Albanian state in regard to the Albanian refugees of Greek origin. Also it is done to obtain great amounts of money allegedly for investments in Albania.

So the Council of Europe gave Greece 74.2 million dollars and on this exclusive fund for Albania the Greek Government will launch a program of investments but the schedule is not declared. Is Albania provided with big amount of money by Greece? Why are these funds maintained in the Greek banks?

The newspaper also writes about the work and toil of the Albanian refugees in Greece and stress that the income provided by the Albanian refugees is a powerful source for the economy of Greece. During 1992, only 300 Albanians in Greece were robbed by the civil and military police of 30 million drachmas. Where are the other money of the Albanians to be found? Almost all of them are to be found in the banks of Greece. Who is helped with them, Albania or Greece? This is the truth of the Greek aid for Albania. The Greek state and their propaganda should not speculate with the aid of the community for Albania and should not consider them Greek aid only because they go through the sea ports or routes of Greece, the newspaper REPUBLIKA writes in closing.

Serreqi, Montenegro's Lekic on Sanctions, Relations

AU2307200993 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT
23 Jul 93

[Text] Tirana, July 23 (ATA)—On July 22, Alfred Serreqi, foreign minister of the Republic of Albania, met with Miodrag Lekic, foreign minister of Montenegro. They exchanged views on the tense situation in the region and the solution of problems through dialogue.

Mr. Serreqi said that the Albanian Government differs Montenegro from Serbia concerning the events in the region, because Montenegro supported the stay of the UN missions in Kosova, Sandjak, and Vojvodina, accepted the international observers to monitor the borders and the Vance-Owen plan to end the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Serreqi also stressed that it is unreasonable that Montenegro carry the heavy burden of UN sanctions for the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. But it should influence to extinguish the flames of war.

Also Mr. Serreqi said that Albania has declared itself against the forceful change of border, but it will not stop making efforts to defend the rights of the Albanian population living in their territories in former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Miodrag Lekic agreed with the assertions of Mr. Serreqi in regard to the crisis in the region and wished to prevent the spillover of the conflict in Kosova. He stressed

that the problems should be solved by means of dialogue, because it is hard to cope with another war in the Balkans. We wish peace in the Balkans. Mr. Lekic handed to Mr. Serreqi a message of the President of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic for President Berisha and invited Mr. Serreqi to visit Montenegro. Mr. Serreqi expected the invitation with pleasure.

Law on Former Political Prisoners Amended

AU2607073293 Tirana LIRIA in Albanian 14 Jul 93 p 1

["By Decree No. 585 of 14 January 1993 (date as published), President of the Republic Sali Berisha Promulgated a Law on Some Additions to Law No. 7660 of 14 January 1993, 'On Some Changes to Law No. 7514 of 30 September 1991 on the Innocence, Amnesty, and Rehabilitation of Former Political Prisoners and Victims of Persecution'"]

[Text]

Article 1

After the first paragraph of Article One of Law No. 7660 of 14 January 1993, two paragraphs are added as follows:

"The following are considered to be political crimes or culpable acts: sentences by courts martial on the basis of Law No. 21 of 15 December 1944 'On Saboteurs During the National Liberation War'; Law No. 41 of 14 January 1945, 'On the Organization of Courts Martial'; Law No. 372 of 12 December 1946 'On Criminal Guilt Before the People and the State'; Articles 5 and 6 of Law No. 373 of 12 December 1946 'On the Prosecution of Black Marketing, Speculation, and Economic Sabotage'; as well as all sentences under articles in the chapter 'Crimes Against the State' and the failure to report or complicity in these crimes according to the Criminal Codes of 1952 and 1977.

"When the documents of former political prisoners do not clearly indicate these provisions, or when they have been sentenced at the same time for a common crime and this sentence does not figure separately, a decision is made by the commission created by the Public Order Ministry and the Justice Ministry. This commission also testifies to the surrender of Albanians to the Yugoslav courts, when documentation is missing."

In the second paragraph of the same law, in line three, after the words "political reasons," the following words are added: "...those accused of political crimes and confined in psychiatric institutions for compulsory treatment..."

After the words, "do not benefit from this law," the following phrase is added:

"Those proved by the Appeal Court to have been at the head of bodies of violence, terror, and espionage, and to have cooperated with those in power."

After the third paragraph, the following phrase is added: "Those who were part of the high nomenclature of the communist state and its bodies of dictatorship, who were directly implicated in such criminal responsibilities as orders for arrest, imprisonment, internment, and the emigration of families as a result of the class struggle,

and who took an active part in the use of violence against those held on remand, in prisons, and in camps, when these acts have been legally proved."

The fourth paragraph is removed and the following paragraph is inserted in its place:

"Persons mentioned in the preceding two paragraphs have the right to request the retrial of their cases in order to prove their activities against the communist dictatorship."

After this paragraph, the following phrase is added:

"Those convicted of common crimes such as murder, torture, looting, sexual crimes, etc."

Article 2

The final paragraph of Item Three of Article Three is revoked.

Article 3

Article 5 is revised as follows:

Article 7 (a) is added as follows:

"Murders in the course of struggle against communist forces after 1 August 1943 and on the border after 31 December 1945 and their motivation are decided by a decision of the court and in consultation with the Association of Former Political Prisoners and Victims of Persecution."

Article 4

The effects of the enforcement of this law involve all cases since the introduction of Law No. 7660 of 14 January 1993.

Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

Tirana, 8 June 1993.

No. of Law: 7719.

Arbnori Refutes Charges of Collaboration

AU2407155393 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 18 Jul 93 pp 1, 6

[Speech by Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, at a meeting of deputies of the Democratic Party parliamentary group, the Democratic Party Presidium, President Sali Berisha, and members of the government in Tirana on 14 July: "Those Who Challenged Death With Me Can Write My Biography"]

[Text] For a long time now, the Democratic Party [PD], besides coping with the burden of power, has been under internal and external attack by a handful of people who have not succeeded in dividing it but have caused a great deal of mischief.

I do not want to fall back on the simple but shabby formula of saying that those who are causing us this trouble are agents of someone or another. For me, it is enough to say that a person can be judged by the course of his life and his real work. These show whom he serves. I personally have

been under attack from the newspapers ZERI I POPULLIT and KOHA JONE and by Simon Jubani and Azem Hajdari.

The combination is highly interesting. The two last-named characters, besides their psychological problems, suffer from careerism and delusions of grandeur.

Listen to Azem Hajdari in his speeches: "I have held 1,854 rallies; I have visited 1,983 villages; I have travelled 162,721 kilometers; I created the PD; I was the first chairman of the PD; I can muster 100,000 people in a square." All these are empty words. We are nothing in politics without the PD. The PD can quite happily live without us. This is one of the reasons why Azem Hajdari, despite all his threats, does not leave the PD. He personally could not muster 1,000 people, let alone 100,000, to bring down the Meksi government. He was not the creator of the PD; it was created by thousands of students, intellectuals, and victims of persecution thirsty for freedom. All its founders know that there was no elected chairman. Azem himself told us that, at a meeting, it was Ramiz Alia who was the first to call Azem Hajdari chairman of the PD, perhaps by accident, perhaps because he talked a lot, or perhaps because he seemed the most suitable opponent. A little later, when the idea arose of electing Mr. Meksi chairman, Azem left the meeting very upset, and was with great difficulty brought back.

As for bringing down the government, A. Hajdari could not do it in five days, as he says, nor in 50, and I hope that 500 would pass before he and his allies succeeded.

When he is in a pickle and is confronted by activists and voters, he says, "I am with Sali Berisha. I am with the PD." This is fine, and I like this, but he then immediately launches all kinds of initiatives with all kinds of names, which bring no results and remain dead letters, despite the commotion made by sections of the press. We have no need to be scared, and his activities even benefit us. A. Hajdari, with his imbalanced, bombastic, and unstable statements, discredits those allies of his that may have more sense than he himself.

With a well-calculated strategy planned with ZERI I POPULLIT and its hangers-on, he launched an immoral attack on former political prisoners. He started against Tomor Dosti, calling him a Ballist [reference to World War II anticommunist group, Balli Kombetar] and saying his brothers are spies; he moved on to Leka Toto and publicly called Ali Spahia a Serbian agent; he ended up with me, calling me an agent of the Sigurimi [communist-era secret police]. His carefully synchronized rumors first appeared in KOHA JONE and ZERI I POPULLIT. A. Hajdari lies, reads his own lies in the papers, and then believes them himself.

There are some internal reasons for this behavior. He caught us more than once together with Ali Spahia by the gate of the old PD headquarters and said, "If you gave your votes to Eduard Selami, the PD is finished." He wanted us to elect him party chairman. Ali Spahia told him a truth that was not insulting, and which I will repeat if he allows me. I also said my piece, without any anger or hostility.

Since then, he has considered us as his opponents. We have never been prejudiced against him.

Shkoder, which loved him a lot as a PD candidate and gave him its votes, later asked, "Whose side are you on, Azem Hajdari?" and did not allow him to renew his candidature. The party presidium told me: "Use your influence to get him nominated, because we will be ashamed to leave him without a constituency." I tried hard with friends, and quite properly so. Activists criticized me for this intervention, but at that time we were all for unity. Democratic Kiras did not want him on any account. We thought of putting him up in the villages of Shllak and Gur i Zi, but although he claims to have visited 1,854 villages, he did not agree to go up to the highland villages. The outstanding deputy Petrit Llaftiu unfortunately died, and Azem Hajdari now boasts of the electorate of Shijak. The poor creature does not realize that they are PD voters, who would accept as a candidate whoever their beloved party were to choose. If anybody doubts this, let them just try to trifle with democratic voters.

In Shkoder, he wanted to disrupt the memorial meeting for 2 April but as soon as he opened his mouth, the packed hall erupted: "Azem Hajdari out! Azem Hajdari out!"

So far, I have remained silent for two reasons: for the sake of the unity of the PD and its parliamentary group, and because I will not degrade myself by trading insults with slanderous individuals who wish to make themselves important.

Few know and many do not know that Azem Hajdari had a hand in the attempt to overthrow Sali Berisha as PD chairman at the First National Assembly. He was always among those threes and fours in the corridor. He emerged "with honor": He obtained only nine, if not fewer, of the 600 votes. That is the reward for irrational ambition and delusions of grandeur. I will tell you something else: There are many who encourage A. Hajdari to sow confusion in the PD and rub their hands, but nobody wants him in their own ranks because with his sudden acts of madness, he resembles a drowning man who pulls others down after him.

For myself, I have never nursed any ambition, either in the past or now. Perhaps that is one more reason why I occupy this high office, proposed by my friends, and supported by the overwhelming majority of votes in the parliament.

I have no need for either a car or a bodyguard. On the basis of a decision of the last government, I have the right to a cook and a housekeeper, but I have not taken on either of them. My successor can have them.

Azem Hajdari has slandered me. He said that I removed Vasil Plaku's immunity. The documents bearing my signature are clear, but it was you who removed his immunity by a regular vote. He shamelessly lies alongside the disinformation of the press when he says that through Vasil Plaku I took 39 pieces of gold sequestered by the court. If I took a single gold piece or even a single old lek, may I eat my words. Otherwise, let the liar eat his. Nevertheless, lies printed in the press stick, and I am sure that there are

many people and even some of our deputies who believe that I have taken these gold pieces. This is the temporary power of a lying press. On the basis of the law on the innocence of former political prisoners that you approved, I have the right to take everything that belongs to me.

Every day I hear that various mountebanks with two false witnesses are acquiring things that never belonged to them, and we must be careful in approving and enforcing laws. The shame is that even RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE has fallen victim to the lies of the press and, in defending me, has written that there was nothing illegal in my acquiring gold pieces, thus involuntarily setting its seal on the lie, to the extent that I often receive letters from people who have suffered, who say that now that I have gold pieces myself I am not doing anything to restore their property to them.

Slanders about me are published in the press. RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE does not consult me but writes itself. It has published some articles by my fellow-inmates, but how many of my friends who shared a prison cell with me for decades have written articles in my defense that RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE has not published because they were not up to standard. Other papers have been left to defend me. Nikolle Frroku, who spent 17 years in prison with me, sent to RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE an article, "Simon Jubani—A Devil in a Cassock," which it did not publish, while TRIBUNA DEMOKRATIKE printed it immediately. Daut Gumeni wrote in DITA INFORMACION. Agim Isaku wrote a letter to ALEANCA about this problem. Ylli Rakipi of REPUBLIKA interviewed me after Simon Jubani's first slander because the idea did not occur to RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE.

Who is Dom Simon Jubani? A perfect match for Azem Hajdari in the Catholic clergy. A person whom all his fellow-inmates called "blessed" on the first day of the week and "cursed" on the last. A priest who never spoke to another priest in the camps and prisons of Albania. He quarreled with all the prisoners and was moved from cell to cell of Burrel prison until in the end, when there were no cells left, the warder said, "Now I have nowhere to put you except in my own home."

Simon Jubani was released before me, pardoned by [former First Secretary of communist-era Albanian Workers Party] Ramiz Alia, while I remained in prison serving my sentence day by day and hour by hour. Who then is the spy? Simon Jubani suggested to me that I should become a Christian-democrat candidate. I told the president about this. I did not accept, for the following reasons. I have great respect for Christian-democratic ideals, but there is a danger of fundamentalism if democratic forces are divided on religious lines. Then he started attacking me. Read carefully Simon Jubani's interviews, articles, and discussions. His first sermon was brilliant. Then he started calling I. Qemali a corn thief, L. Gurakuqi a failed dwarf, B. Curri a Soviet agent, Fan Noli a communist, Mother Teresa not Albanian, Pope John Paul II immature, and Italian fascist rule the best for Albania.

He said that I confessed to him. This is a lie. We were usually not on speaking terms. I quarreled with him

because one day in the prison canteen in the filthiest language he publicly insulted Dom Nikolle Mazreku, a Catholic priest who suffered 40 years prison and internment, and who in 1940 replied in the press to the Italian Jesuit Fulvio Cordignano, who had written offensive articles about Albania and the Albanian people. This is why Simon Jubani turned against me.

In Burrel prison, S. Jubani was caught with a letter in which he denounced Dom Nikolle Mazreku, Gjete Kadeli who was sentenced for hoisting the flag without a star in Spac, Eduard Marashi who served 24 years in prison with both legs amputated, myself, and certain others.

Although all the prisoners read this letter, we said nothing out of respect for the other priests. Simon Jubani profited from this and slanders me in the press, accusing me of being a Sigurimi collaborator. He spends dollars collected in the United States and several million francs collected in France not on building churches as the donors intend but on financing antidemocratic newspapers. He has campaigned from village to village for votes for Ramiz Alia and against the PD. I have the copy of a fax in which Simon Jubani writes in his own hand to Luan Isufi in the United States:

"Leave no stone unturned to make the Albanian parliament representative. All the Catholics in the parliament and the government are vassals of the clan hiding behind them. The parliament and cabinet are a front led by the nose by an invisible government that hides behind them and is called the clan of Fatos Nano and the other Tosks."

"I leave for Shkoder on 6 December, traveling together with Ambassador (a word is illegible here). We will cross over, board ship in Brindisi with the ambassador's car, and will go to Greece, returning to Albania by car."

"May God help us in 1993 by granting all our wishes to win in the parliament."

"I embrace you, Dom Simoni."

Anybody who wishes may come to see this fax in the office safe.

So, see how matters are connected.

In prison, S. Jubani used to say that he would become archbishop, a cardinal, and why not even pope? However, when John Paul II came to Shkoder, nobody paid any attention to Simon Jubani, who was left like a spare part, although he had said the first mass in Shkoder. I will tell you something else you do not know. Adil Carcani went to Shkoder a few days before the mass and spoke about religious freedom at the committee of the Albanian Workers Party. Then former Shkoder Police Chief Dilaver Papare summoned two priests, former prisoners, and told them that they could celebrate one mass each, nicely and quietly. One of them was scared or wary and did not accept, while the other, Simon Jubani, said the mass in the cemetery chapel. Amazingly, that very day an Albanian Television crew arrived because Ramiz Alia intended to send a film to Copenhagen to deceive Europe that religious

freedom existed in communist Albania. The devout, patriotic, anticommunist, and undaunted people of Shkoder did not rest content with one mass, and events took the course they did, to the honor of Shkoder and especially the young people of Shkoder.

As for the accusation of "collaborator with the Sigurimi" and the cover name "Koromania" attributed to me, I was never a collaborator with the Sigurimi and never had such a cover name. There is a person, a former prisoner connected with F.N., who was known in prison to have such a cover name. Pressure was put on me in prison to become a Sigurimi agent. I wrote this in my statement before becoming a candidate for the post of deputy. They put pressure on me and every year put me in solitary confinement for one or two months, naked, without a blanket, on ice in temperatures of minus 15 degrees centigrade. They beat me and tied me up, and all the honest prisoners of Burrel can testify to this. Those who risked their lives for me and came secretly to the cooler to help me can testify to this. When Hajdari and his sidekicks allege that the Sigurimi helped me with hand-outs, they also insult the sufferings of my mother and sisters, who, as all Shkoder knows, worked and suffered to bring a mouthful of bread to me in prison to enable me to survive. I shared even this mouthful with my friends. How many mothers and sisters such words insult!

They have tried to destroy me all my life. When they have pushed me down, I have risen to my feet all the stronger. They have tried to sling mud at me. I have stood firm, and will so stand until my last breath. My biography can be written only by those who have suffered with me, who have withstood evil like me or better than me, and who have been led to a pit by a firing squad like me, not by whippersnappers of the Sigurimi like the Pobratas, who, now that they have no more power, try to sully those who did not give in; not the Hajdaris who go boozing in dubious places and come to spit poison in the parliament. They want to eat us all up, one by one. Let anybody who wishes make a pet of Azem Hajdari; he has said of you that you are the foulest part of the parliament. You did not put up with this and nor do I. I do not place anything above the honor of myself and family. If I do not respect my own honor, there is no way I can defend the honor of the PD.

(The deputies greeted with applause the speech of Pjeter Arbno, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.)

Daily Criticizes Current U.S. Policy

AU2407140493 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
18 Jul 93 p 2

[Article by Sejdi Musarai: "Current U.S. Policy and Albania"]

[Text] The fact that certain influential political circles in the United States support those political parties and forces in Albania that aim to restore an anachronistic and antidemocratic regime is now open knowledge. As a result, U.S. policy, as each day passes, is sadly disappointing the hopes of millions of Albanians who trusted this policy's

declared principles. The overwhelming majority of Albanians cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that a country with a developed and consolidated democracy, the staunch opponent of every dictatorial and fascist regime, which contributed so much to the destruction of Italian fascism, German Nazism, and Japanese militarism, should support in Albania such political forces and parties as the National Front, Legality, and others with revanchist and fascist tendencies, which during World War II were collaborators and obedient tools of the Nazi-fascist invaders. Still less can they accept that this country should support those who committed innumerable crimes against the Albanian people and whom history long ago branded with the mark of treason to the nation.

As a result, the revival of these parties with their old, obsolete programs, out of touch with reality today and in the future, arouses among the broad Albanian public a marked aversion to and an increasing distrust of U.S. policy toward Albania. Democratic politicians, honest intellectuals, and ordinary people who are nevertheless clever and have been "brought up the hard way" in life ask in amazement, "Is it possible that serious political circles in the United States have not drawn the proper conclusions either from Anglo-American policy toward Albania in the Albanian National Liberation War or from the national psychological and historical characteristics of the Albanian people, or from a range of sociopolitical factors that characterized Albanian society during more than four decades of the social-communist regime?" Those with experience in this matter ask: "Does the State Department not have serious, farsighted, and objective analysts of the Albanian question? Or do dilettante pen-pushers deal with Albania? Or, worse yet, do they believe the CIA's informers from the ranks of the Albanian emigrants and the former political prisoners who are blinded by pathological anticommunist hatred, revanchist passions, and mercenary desires?" Anybody with an ounce of common sense knows that realistic policies are constructed on the basis of deep and comprehensive scientific analyses of social phenomena and not on sick, vindictive, and revanchist passions. Thus, does U.S. policy toward Albania suffer from various conservative and myopic prejudices?

It is a fact that a range of critical attitudes toward the policy pursued by the United States in the last two or three years is evident among the broad strata of the Albanian people. The view also circulates that one effect of this policy has been to deepen the division that marks Albanian society and the intransigent stands of the two main main parties, the often unprincipled struggle between them, and the setting up of each in opposition to the other, a process in which various democratic "goodies" that deserve the support of the United States and are differentiated from certain "baddies" that must be removed from the political stage and, if possible, totally eliminated. The policy of this great democratic state, instead of helping this poor and divided people that are still suffering from a savage communist class struggle, instead of sending a message of unity in order to join forces and mobilize moral and patriotic energies to overcome the postcommunist crisis, is rather encouraging their vengeful instincts and plunging them

deeper into political and economic chaos. Although not evident in public, there are no few voices that confirm that it was the guidelines set by U.S. policy that determined the Democratic Party (PD) to bring down the Stability Government, the joint government of political forces. After this collapse, as is well known, the country was enveloped by an unprecedented wave of destruction and instability in every field, whose catastrophic consequences we still feel deeply. One also remembers the slogans used at that time, such as those of "zero hour," the American "blank check," "We will govern, the world will help us," "Long live Bush—Long live the United States," "The United States equals dollars," etc., etc. Thus, instead of quenching the fires of vengeance that burned inside us, they fanned their flames with U.S. flags. Besides all these slogans, the smiling figure of U.S. Ambassador Ryerson was prominent at the rallies of those months of the electoral campaign, standing beside Sali Berisha and the other leaders of the party that was assuming power in Albania. It seemed that the PD victory delighted and pleased the "friendly" U.S. ambassador more than it did the PD itself.

While we are on this subject, there are plenty of people who say that even today he exerts a powerful influence on the behavior and decisions of the president, the government, and the PD deputies, like Soviet Ambassador Chuvakin in the past.

Among the broad mass of Albanians, the view is spreading that our foreign policy is totally subjected to that of the United States, and that our politicians dance to the tune of American jazz and follow the baton of the conductor across the Atlantic, without worrying about our national interests and still less about the prestige of our state, let alone their individual reputation. There was great hope in U.S. support for the solution of our national question but what happened was a great "bluff." It was Serbia that received support and Albania was told to "sit quietly." Kosovo and the other Albanian areas of the former Yugoslavia remained in a worse condition than under Titoism.

At the time when Greek-Albanian relations deteriorated, the U.S. government spokesman issued in general terms an assurance of the preservation of Albania's independence. Very nice. However, it is well known that the Greek "lobby" in the United States is much stronger and has a much greater influence over the U.S. Government than the Albanian "lobby." Whose side will U.S. policy take over the Greek nationalist and chauvinist claims to so-called "Vorio-Epiros?" What advice will the United States give our government? Will there perhaps be a repetition of 1913, and Albania will be further truncated, with the United States telling President Berisha, "Swallow your medicine or I will throw you out of the window?"

However, the Albanians suffered the greatest disillusion with U.S. policies when, in these last two or three years of direst poverty and major and urgent economic needs, the richest state in the world turned out to be the stingiest, and the most hope-giving turned out to be the most disappointing. Discontent over this has grown because of the fact that, as many economists including even those of the PD admit, the World Bank and the IMF, which are

controlled by the United States, have intentionally slowed down our economic reforms and have placed the Albanian economy in the iron vise of savage capitalist laws that are remote from Albanian social and economic reality, and whose consequences we feel every day in mass unemployment, dizzily rising prices, and the paralysis of all branches of the economy. Meanwhile, our mediocre and toadying politicians, who are not up to skilled and honest work, have started enriching themselves in illegal ways through Mafia-style corruption.

How long will U.S. policy toward Albania continue like this? After these disappointments and others that the broad Albanian public have experienced as regards the United States, the realistic view of December 1990 is increasingly gaining ground, that only a stable European policy toward the Balkans can put Albania on the road toward its general revival.

Press Warns of Dangers of Budget Deficit

*AU2407163993 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian
16 Jul 93 pp 1,8*

[Article by Ridvan Peshkepja: "A 2-Billion-Lek Deficit in Six Months"]

[Text] A few days ago, the deputies in parliament were presented with a package of new tax laws. This package, the third in a year and the second in the last three months, clearly shows the instability of our economy and the incompetence of our leaders to foresee its development.

Although kept secret, the fact is that the budget currently shows a deficit of 2 billion leks. This would not be unreasonable for a state with a budget of 100 billion leks, but it can be considered catastrophic for a state that in six months spends 5.7 billion leks instead of 3.7 billion leks.

Besides a significant increase in customs duties on goods extensively traded on our market, a bill has also arrived on the deputies' desks that lays down what is called a surtax of five percent of their price to be imposed on all imported goods. This exceptional measure, described in the bill as temporary, is a preliminary sign of new price increases in our country.

After the approval of this bill, what are called the articles of the basket [range of staple goods with controlled prices], specifically sugar, cooking oil, cheese, butter, margarine, macaroni, meat, rice, and eggs, will also be subject to customs duty. Soap will be subject not only to customs duty but also sales tax.

It is thus becoming clear that consumers will pay to fill the great hole in the state budget. Genc Ruli, minister of finance and the economy, who would normally be obliged to tender his resignation immediately after such a financial catastrophe for which he bears direct responsibility, appeared before parliament in the guise of a man who gives orders. He did not indicate a shred of responsibility in the way he put forward the bills and replied to deputies'

questions. He replied to the questions of the Democratic Alliance's deputies about the wrong-headed economic policy by saying, "You have no experience." Meanwhile, it is noticeable that his "exceptional experience" has added to the economic chaos and has left Albania with a mere \$20 million of investment (according to Foreign Economic Relations Minister Artan Hoxha), a sum that would not be enough to regenerate a second-class district, let alone the state.

The deficit so far of 2 billion leks is officially predicted to rise to 2.3 billion leks by the end of the year. However, it will evidently be much higher. This, alongside the still uncovered deficit of 12 billion leks from last year, is a fact that belies Eduard Selami's optimistic statements about growth in our economy.

The Albanian economy is not only not growing but has not even determined its priorities. It is obliged to labor under a bloated administration, a trebled National Intelligence Service, and a 28,000-strong police force. The tax collection system is thoroughly corrupt and, according to a Democratic Party deputy, is the sole branch of the Albanian economy.

Because it is not realistically possible to collect 2 billion leks in taxes, the need to cover this deficit is brewing catastrophic inflation that will plunge the economy, politics, and all Albanian society into chaos. Prices will inevitably rise, while wages will remain frozen and working people will only enjoy the sop of their weekend.

With these tax changes, the prices of certain goods will finally reach those of the world market, while wages will be about one-fiftieth of those on the world market.

The Democratic Alliance's deputies objected to off-loading on the population the problems caused by the government's incompetence and corruption. They consider this a step toward the forced polarization of Albanian society, which could cause serious social tensions in the future.

Kopliku Says 90 Percent of Land Privatized

*AU2407161793 Tirana ATA in English 1003 GMT
24 Jul 93*

[Text] Tirana, July 24 (ATA)—The Vice Premier Bashkim Kopliku stressed in an interview with the newspaper BASHKIMI on the question of privatization that trade shops, most of transportation vehicles, agricultural means, etc., have been privatized. Ninety percent of the land has also been privatized.

Mr. Kopliku pointed out that the actual task is to carry out privatization in medium and small enterprises as soon as possible.

The Vice Premier Kopliku, who deals with the question of economic reform, stresses that there are different forms of privatization, but priority is attached to auction. As he said, this is the fastest and simplest form. According to Kopliku, auction is the best form against corruption.

CDU Conference Ends; Party Leaves SDS Coalition

AU2507180393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] The present model of the parliament does not realistically reflect the political spectrum and society's interests and aspirations, therefore, early elections should be held after a referendum which will determine the election system. This is pointed out in the resolution of the Christian-Democratic Union [CDU] adopted by the delegates of its General Assembly.

The CDU thinks that the way out of the crisis that continues in Bulgaria is in implementing a rightist-centrist economic policy with social connotations, the document points out. The leftist way of thinking and the behavior of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], as well as the personal usurpation of the power turned the SDS into an unnatural political environment for the CDU, the resolution further points out. Therefore, the Christian Democrats leave the SDS, and declare that they do this also because the SDS present political formula is no longer operational.

Dimitrov Assesses Cooperation With Other Parties

AU2407133493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Report by Antoaneta Puncheva]

[Text] The National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] held an extraordinary session today.

The session pursued the work on a memorandum which is expected to map out the basis for dialogue and cooperation with other political forces.

The SDS coalition shall not accept Mrs. Anastasia Mozer's invitation to participate in the roundtable discussion which she as leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Party [BZNS] is planning to hold, because she invited some political formations whose real existence can hardly be proved. This was announced after today's session of the SDS National Coordinating Council. According to Filip Dimitrov, those are names without addresses.

The memorandum which has been drafted and is scheduled to be officially adopted next Tuesday [27 July] is a combination of Filip Dimitrov's version and of the alternative version submitted by the Democratic Party.

According to Mr. Filip Dimitrov, the Democrats are not clearly distinguishing between cooperation before and after elections.

The chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council and ex-prime minister insisted that the memorandum should strongly emphasize all achievements of the SDS government in the past and all attempts of revising them today, while the Democratic Party added a text in which the supremacy of parliamentarianism in our country is pointed out and which insists on resisting the president's anti-constitutional actions.

Of course, the SDS also took a stand on the rejection of the no-confidence vote by the parliamentary majority. Mr. Filip Dimitrov claims that the actions of the government are either the results of incompetence, or of shady deals, while the political forces confirmed their disregard for the interests of the state by voting for the government last night, according to Mr. Filip Dimitrov.

BSP Said To Revive Comintern Line Toward Macedonia

AU2607121293 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 22 Jul 93 p 3

[Article by Valeriya Veleva: "BSP Revives Comintern Line on Macedonian Issue, VMRO Thinks"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is trying to revive the Comintern line of the former Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] toward the Macedonian issue, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Organizations [VMRO-SMD] believes. The BCP used to force Bulgarians to declare themselves as Macedonians. Therefore, the Socialists did not receive their quota of the 50 invitations for participation in the 90th anniversary of the Ilinden-Transfiguration Insurrection, which the VMRO-SMD leadership sent to 50 Bulgarian state, social, and political figures. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] personnel also were excluded from the list. The statement of Georgi Purvanov, member of the BSP Executive Bureau, that "the Bulgarian state must make the second step toward Macedonia and recognize the Macedonian nation," and the insistent desire of Professor Zakhari Zakhariyev to found a so-called Slavic University in which the "Macedonian literary language" will be studied, were pointed out by the VMRO-SMD as examples of treason toward the national interests.

There is an idea of founding a public initiative committee on marking the insurrection's anniversary, under the auspices of President Zhelyu Zhelev, which should be chaired by Aleksandur Yordanov, National Assembly chairman. The president's decision on whether he will accept the invitation is expected by 26 July.

Some 30,000 people are expected to arrive in Predela for the anniversary celebration. Invited were representatives of Vardar Macedonia, Bessarabia, and the Union of Thracian Societies. Our compatriots from Aegean Macedonia also expressed their willingness to attend, but this would have placed them under the hazard of the Greek Penal Code articles, which deal with activity that "jeopardizes the country's territorial integrity."

There are reports on provocations that groups serving the interests of Skopje and Belgrade are preparing.

Differences on Privatization Within Cabinet Viewed

AU2607115893 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Jul 93 p 1

[Commentary by Aleksandur Angelov: "Cabinet Begins To Resemble Parliament"]

[Text] Recently, The situation within the Council of Ministers more and more resembles the Aesopian fable about

the animals pulling the cart in different directions. The centrifugal forces in the parliament seem to have affected the experts' privatization cabinet. After prolonged deliberations about how to effect mass privatization, suddenly two different plans emerged in the cabinet—the "Berov" and "Karabashev" variants. Thus it appears that some unspoken competition exists in this cabinet. What will happen if every minister, or at least [Deputy Prime Minister] Neycho Neev also puts another version on the cabinet's table? So far we have only two governmental variants on mass privatization, and a delay of two months in the previously promised timeframe. Under such circumstances it should not be very difficult to anticipate a year-long delay in resolving other urgent economic issues.

It appears that competition within the cabinet involves not only unselfish ideas as to how best to serve the motherland. A growing personal ambition transpires behind the statements of the prime minister and the deputy prime minister. In addition, ungentlemanly tricks are being played. Professor Berov accuses the privatization plan advanced by his younger deputy of socialist tendencies and sees in it the influence of the Bulgarian Communist Party July Plenum. For his part, Karabashev, in a rather disloyal step toward his colleagues, alone announced that the alluring "Teraton" Company will be privatized.

Whatever problems exist between the ministers they should resolve them themselves, rather than waiting for the Tripartite Commission, for example, to become their referee.

Monarchist Coalition Holds First National Conference

*AU2407174993 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT
24 Jul 93*

[Text] Ruse, July 24 (BTA)—The First National Monarchist-Legitimist Conference was held here today. It was hosted by the Ruse Kingdom of Bulgaria Union. This was the first official meeting of the newly founded "For the Turnovo Constitution—Kingdom of Bulgaria" Political Coalition.

In his address to the conference the exiled Bulgarian King Simeon II (living in Madrid) wished the participants active and fruitful work in the name of the prosperity of Bulgaria. I know by experience that the constitutional monarchy guarantees national unity. In this sense internal conflicts among Monarchists are detrimental to their cause because they contradict the basic function of the institution which I represent, Simeon II wrote in his address from Madrid.

The conference was attended by 437 delegates of 186 population centres representing not only the 16 parties which founded the coalition but also the 23 parties which joined it. There were also observers and guests—MP's [members of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of other political organizations supporting the idea for restoring the Turnovo Constitution. The conference was also attended by the king's adviser Prof. Nedko Itinov.

At the conference it was pointed out that the Monarchists will struggle by legal means to restore the law-abiding social order and form of government embodied by the Turnovo Constitution and the Third Bulgarian Kingdom. In a special address they call on all Bulgarians to support their efforts. "Our advantage is that we substitute the hammer and sickle for the crown of the Bulgarian kings and the cross of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church," Margarit Mitsev, chairman of the Constitutional Union, told the conference.

The participants in the Ruse conference adopted the statutes and the platform of the "For the Turnovo Constitution—Kingdom of Bulgaria" Political Coalition. It is from these documents that the Monarchists will proceed in elaborating their programme in future parliamentary elections. The principal goals they have set themselves are: restoration of the Turnovo Constitution and the monarchy, overcoming the present political polarization, elimination of the state monopoly over the economy, enhancing national self-confidence, a spiritual union between all Bulgarians in this country and throughout the world and a foreign policy based on active neutrality and equal cooperation.

Losses Incurred by Serbian Embargo Viewed

*AU2307082493 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT
22 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 22 (BTA)—By April 30, 1992 Bulgaria's losses from the embargo against the former Yugoslavia totalled \$940 million. After UN Security Council Resolution 820 came into force (i.e., from January 1 to June 30, 1993) this country lost \$1,300 million, Mr. Marin Todorov, secretary of the Government Commission on the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions, told a press conference today.

The data of Bulgaria's losses were discussed today at a session of the commission with the participation of Mr. James Grossman, chairman of the UN Sanctions Committee. The calculations were made on the basis of a methodology which the governmental commission worked out with the assistance of Mr. Grossman a little less than two months ago. According to Mr. Grossman, the data should be specified and losses suffered directly as a result of the enforcement of the embargo should be separated from *lucrum cessans* [damage from losses].

Mr. Todorov said that compared to its economic potential, Bulgaria is suffering the greatest losses from the enforcement of the sanctions against Serbia-Montenegro.

Mr. Grossman explained that alternative solutions will be sought for compensating this country as the United Nations has no document envisaging direct compensations.

Mr. Osella, permanent representative of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program] in Bulgaria, said Bulgaria should make maximum use of the quotas which she has been granted, that companies should export products with value added tax, that air transport should be used instead of land transport and that access to markets should

be sought through cooperation with foreign companies, i.e., that Bulgaria should work its way to the world markets on a bilateral basis.

Parliament Approves Measures on Improving Arms Industry

*AU2307173393 Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT
23 Jun 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—At a closed-door sitting today parliament passed a decision on the improvement of the condition of the Bulgarian defense industry. It imposes a three-year moratorium on the privatization of commercial partnerships producing special-purpose goods and arms and those granted a general license to trade in military supplies.

The MP's [members of parliament] voted today's decision after they heard a report by the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of the Bulgarian Military-Industrial Complex at a closed-door sitting last Friday [16 July]. The commission was chaired by Mr. Ivan Pushkarov MP, ex-minister of industry and trade in the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The MP's debated the draft decision at a closed-door sitting on Wednesday.

Today's parliamentary decision provides for setting up a Standing Committee on the Defense Industry and the mobilization readiness of the different industrial sectors by October 1.

Under the decision, the cabinet should set priority on the transformation into public debt of the delinquent debts run up by the companies and commercial partnerships by 1990, including interest.

The MP's gave the cabinet one month to set up a state body to work out the principles and coordinate the government policy on the manufacturing and trade in military and special-purpose goods and the mobilization readiness of the different industrial sectors.

The parliamentary decision recommends the Bulgarian National Bank to work out measures for the financial stabilization of the defense industry companies.

Human Rights Committee Praises Country's Achievements

*AU2407132893 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT
23 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—Bulgaria's achievements in the field of human rights over the last couple of years were highly commended at the discussion of the second regular report of the Republic of Bulgaria before the 18-member Human Rights Committee in Geneva, the Foreign Ministry press office said today.

Mr. Lyuben Kulishev, adviser to the National Assembly chairman, presented the report.

Participants in the discussion expressed understanding for the difficulties Bulgaria is facing in establishing a rule of law and mechanisms of encouragement and protection of human rights.

The Human Rights Committee is expected to make specific recommendations to the Bulgarian Government to help its activity in this field, Bulgaria's permanent mission to Geneva reported.

European Parliamentarians Sum Up Results of Visit

*AU2307173293 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT
23 Jul 93*

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—Bulgaria should be encouraged on the road to Europe, the leader of the delegation of the European Parliament, Mr. Alexander Langer, told a press conference today. Ending its three-day visit the delegation, which is responsible for contacts with Bulgaria, Romania and Albania in the European Parliament, will draw up a report in connection with the forthcoming ratification of Bulgaria's association agreement with the European Community.

According to Mr. Langer, Bulgaria is in a difficult stage of post-totalitarian development and transition to democracy. The purpose of the European Parliament is to encourage the transition, for which Europe has no model. The delegation paid attention to the difficulties which the country is faced by, the contradictions emerging during the period of transition, including the straining of relations between the opposition and the parliamentary majority. However, Mr. Langer noted that such disputes should be resolved democratically.

The delegation cannot make any specific recommendation for the ratification of the Europe agreement in its report, but its members will give a detailed account of the realities in Bulgaria helping to understand the actual situation in it, the press conference was told. We have assumed a commitment to make a contribution to overcoming the discrimination of Bulgaria, Mr. Langer said.

Miss Patricia Rowlings, rapporteur for Bulgaria, noted that the delegation's report would not make any analogy with the situation in Romania nor would Bulgaria be associated with its northern neighbor, in which many aspects of human rights are still questionable. The report will give a detailed account of the losses Bulgaria has been suffering as a result of observing the embargo against Serbia-Montenegro. As to the compensations for it, we can help, Miss Rowlings underlined. The European Parliament has been already allocating compensation funds not only for Bulgaria, that is why considerable space will be devoted to the commission's understanding of Bulgaria's problems arising in connection with the Yugoslav crisis.

Government Urged To Revive Economic Relations

*AU2307182793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
21 Jul 93 p 8*

[Commentary by Maksim Bozhilov: "There Is a Solution for Bulgaria"]

[Text] Slovakia found a way of settling its mutual payments with Russia, and the competent Bulgarian authorities should carefully watch Bratislava's efforts in this respect. The two sides, namely the Slovaks and the Russians, are disputing their mutual debts, but this does not prevent them from signing agreements. Moscow promised to supply Bratislava with five Russian MiG-29 destroyer aircraft, along with the required spare parts and other military equipment, thus reducing the Russian debt toward Slovakia by \$180 million, as the Slovak prime minister recently confirmed.

Bulgaria's situation is very similar. On the occasion of President Zhelev's recent visit to our Air Force base, the Bulgarian public was acquainted with the critical situation of that branch of service and learned about the shortage of updated equipment, as well as the necessary spare parts, a state of affairs that exposes the lives of our Bulgarian military pilots to unnecessary risks. The same applies to other branches of service in our army.

So much for our needs. As far as the opportunities of covering them are concerned, we perfectly realize that the reform is far from solving the economic crisis, and there is hardly a chance for our wishes to become reality in the near future.

After the disruption of our relations with the former CEMA member-countries, Bulgaria tried to find new trade partners, but European markets are not easily accessible to our country—even Brussels is postponing the ratification of the association agreement with the EC under ridiculous pretexts. Hence, our country should have recourse to

alternative markets and the former economic relations should be revived, without any ideological reservations, as long as they are economically advantageous.

In the opposite case, we might risk to miss even this chance.

Statistics Indicate Delay in Land Reform

AU2307173193 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT
23 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 23 (BTA)—The land reform is making a very slow progress, according to experts of the National Statistical Institute (NSI).

532,800 hectares of farm land have been returned in existing or restorable real boundaries, says Municipal Land Commission data gathered by June 25, 1993. 853,900 hectares of land have been given for use. 18,300 hectares have been returned through partitioning.

Owners have taken back 1,404,000 hectares, or 25.2 per cent of the claims and 22.9 per cent of arable land, says the NSI information further on.

582 title-deeds for 549 hectares were issued and 25 hectares sold in 73 deals by June 25. 1,034 cooperatives with 203,905 members have been set up, of which only 719 were registered in court, according to the NSI. Only 41 liquidation councils (responsible for the return of the land, held by communist-time cooperative farms, to its former owners), or 2 per cent of the total number, had accomplished their activity by the end of last month.

Klaus Denies Reports of Differences With Zieleniec

*AU2307181893 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT
21 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 21 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus dismissed today recent speculation by some dailies that there were controversions between him and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec over Czech foreign policy.

Such speculations are ungrounded and untrue, Klaus stressed.

Both Klaus and Zieleniec are members of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

Asked if it was true that he does not sometimes respect materials prepared by the Foreign Ministry, Klaus answered that such reports are being spread by some insatiated [as received] employees at the ministry.

He admitted that in the event that the ministry provided him with a draft speech, which is empty and completely sterile, then he refuses to deliver it, and prepares a new one by himself.

If this offends somebody out of the Foreign Ministry's subaltern employees, do not view it as a controversion between me and the foreign minister, Mr. Zieleniec, Klaus concluded.

Antall's 12 July Letter to Klaus Released

*AU2607113093 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
23 Jul 93 p 3*

[Letter sent by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus on 12 July 1993]

[Text] Esteemed prime minister,

It is with pleasure that I take the opportunity of the Czech Republic's admission into the Council of Europe to greet you and, through you, the Czech people.

In accordance with the Council of Europe member states, the Hungarian Government holds the view that peace on our continent will occur only when basic human and minority rights are observed in our region. It has not been, and will not be, the aim of the Hungarian Government to isolate Slovakia and to prevent its integration into Europe. At the same time we consider it crucial that the recommendations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe be complied with.

In promoting and utilizing the control mechanisms of the Council of Europe, Hungarian diplomacy is counting on effective cooperation with Council of Europe member states, including the Czech Republic, so that the Government of the Slovak Republic, having been granted confidence in advance, will build its legal system, and secure minority rights, in harmony with international norms.

As a member of the Council of Europe and Slovakia's neighbor, Hungary is of the opinion that it is justified to expect Slovakia to pass some laws in accordance with the recommendations of the Council of Europe rapporteurs, as has already been the case with respect to legislative norms

concerning the use of Hungarian Christian names and the names of communities, and to carry out the planned territorial and administrative reorganization in such a way that Hungarians living together in one block should belong to one administrative entity. In the spirit of the recommendations addressed by the Council of Europe to Slovakia, it is also essential that Slovakia abolish discriminatory laws adopted on the basis of nationality, laws that are still valid and that provide to this day the ideological and legal foundation for intolerance toward the Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

With faith in the further development of the common striving for peace and the security of our region greets you.

[Signed] Jozsef Antall

Havel Returns Customs Law Amendment to Parliament

LD2207195493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] President Vaclav Havel did not sign the Customs Law amendment and returned it to the Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde for reconsideration by parliament. This was announced today by the president's spokesman, Ladislav Spacek.

According to the spokesman, the president signed the law on the unlawful nature of the communist regime and resistance against it, as well as 11 other laws that were presented to him today.

Ministries Not To React to Slovakia, Hungary Arming

AU2407133893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Jul 93 p 2

["(km)"-signed report: "Hungary and Slovakia's Arming Does Not Worry Czech Representatives"]

[Text] The Czech Republic is not worried by the plans of the Hungarian and Slovak Armies to increase their arms. This ensues from the communication of the Defense Ministry and the Foreign Ministry.

Hungary is planning to buy new weapons from Russia, amounting to \$800 million, and the Slovak Republic—in reaction to this step of the Hungarian Government—wants to import weapons worth \$180 million from Russia.

The commander of the Czech Army General Staff, Jiri Nekvasil, told us that it would be premature to try to pass judgment on the situation. "When this happens, we will react," he said. So far, this has been only a verbal statement by politicians.

The Foreign Ministry does not assume that Hungary and Slovakia would overstep international norms in connection with increasing the number of weapons of their armies. Lucie Pilipova, spokeswoman of the ministry, told us that Czech diplomacy considers the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe to be the basic framework for the Central European space. [sentence as published] This

treaty imposes limits on five categories of military technology that are the most essential for conventional stability.

When asked whether the Czech Republic is going to react to Slovak and Hungarian arming by an increased purchase of weapons, the spokeswoman said that the Foreign Ministry does not believe that arms purchasing could improve the security of the Czech Republic.

Ministry: Ratification Not Needed for Border Amendment

*AU2607112693 Prague CTK in English 1025 GMT
22 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—No ratification by the Czech or Slovak parliaments is necessary for the border agreement amendment approved by the Czech Government Wednesday [21 July], the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed today.

The amendment states that citizens of other countries may cross the Czech-Slovak border only at existing customs crossings.

Ministry Spokeswoman Lucie Pilipova said that the agreement on the removal of visa requirements reached by the Czech and Slovak Republics last year was not contingent on ratification by the parliaments, so this amendment is not contingent either.

The initial agreement was signed in Prague October 29, 1992, and took effect January 1, 1993.

The Czech Government also voted Wednesday to authorise Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec to sign the amendment for the Czech Republic. The Slovak Government is expected to discuss it next week and to authorise Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik to sign.

The amendment is the result of conversations between the Czech and Slovak premiers, Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, last week in Budapest.

ODS Denies Speculation About LSNS Joining Coalition

*AU2607123093 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT
22 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—Speculations about what would happen if some other party showed interest in joining the government coalition are premature, Jiri Vlach, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), thinks.

He expressed the view at today's ODS press conference in reply to a question on how the ODS would react if the Liberal National Social Party (LSNS) showed interest in joining the coalition and whether the ODS has already received any indications of such interest.

The Czech daily CESKY DENIK today wrote that Vlach and Jan Kasal, first deputy chairman of the Christian

Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL), confirmed on Wednesday [21 July] indications that the LSNS could try to join the coalition.

The government coalition consists of the ODS, the KDU-CSL, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS).

The LSNS separated in June from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS), which is part of the Liberal Social Union (LSU). Apart from the CSS, the LSU consists of the Agrarian Party and the Green Party. It is an opposition party with 14 seats in the 200-seat Czech parliament.

Vlach praised that LSNS deputies often take a business-like attitude to solving various problems.

ODS Chairman and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said that a number of formulations, initiatives, stands of the party (LSNS) are sympathetic to the party (ODS). On the other hand, we are not analyticians of the internal situation of the party, he said. He also thinks it would be premature to draw any conclusions.

Nevertheless, the ODS welcomes any small step leading to the legibility of the political scene. We welcome if a certain party is taking clear shapes to the detriment of the entirely unclear, strange coalition called LSU, Klaus said.

Grebenicek Claims Havel Pressured To Sign Law

*AU2607123893 Prague CTK in English 2134 GMT
22 Jul 93*

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—Czech Communist Leader Miroslav Grebenicek is convinced that President Vaclav Havel did not sign the anti-communist law because he is convinced of its correctness, but under the pressure of right-wing circles.

In a statement passed to CTK, Grebenicek, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), said that Havel has several times expressed himself against the artificial division of society and in favour of national reconciliation.

He also recalled the statement by which Havel challenged his signature under the screening law. The law bars from state and public posts former communist leading officials, members of the People's Militia (paramilitary force of the Communist Party, and collaborators with the Secret Police) until 1996.

The anti-communist law casts doubt on our country from the point of view of observance of international human rights standards, Grebenicek wrote.

The law, passed on July 9, declares the illegitimacy of the former Communist regime (February 25, 1948-November 17, 1989) and defines the status of opposition against it.

Unions' Agreement-Violation Claim Rejected

AU2607122493 Prague CTK in English 1937 GMT
22 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—No drama has been developing between the government, unions and employers, Czech Labour and Social Affairs Minister Jindrich Vodicka told journalists today.

He was reacting to a statement by Vladimir Petrus, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions (CMKOS), the strongest in the Czech Republic, who said on Wednesday [21 July] that the General Agreement has been violated and that it is not being fulfilled.

The General Agreement is concluded every year by the Council For Economic and Social Agreement (RHSD), also referred to as Tripartite, which consists of representatives of the government, unions and employers. Its aim is to maintain social peace in the period of transition from the centrally planned economy to a market system.

Vodicka pointed out that at a session of the RHSD extended board on Tuesday, all partners had agreed that the General Agreement had not yet been breached.

Certain subjects of our political scene have been following a well-known pattern of conduct, Vodicka said and added he had not been surprised at all by Petrus's statement.

The unions are convinced that the General Agreement has been breached by the introduction of wage regulation as of July 1 and that it has not been fulfilled because the government did not submit in time a bill on old age pension extra premiums (by June 30 as agreed previously).

Czech Premier and ODS [Civic Democratic Party] Chairman Vaclav Klaus dismissed the unions' criticism of the government concept of a system for old age pension extra premiums, which is based on the civic principle, while the unions insist on an employer-based system.

The unionists characterise the government's effort to restrict the role of employers in extra premiums as an essential change in the strategy of the economic reform.

The government is speaking about liberalism, but in fact it is returning to the previous state-applied system of redistribution because it wants to distribute all resources by itself and to use them in tackling budgetary problems, union representatives told journalists on Wednesday.

Klaus said today that the name of his party forces it to constantly assert the civic and democratic principle, a principle which does not discriminate against anybody, but does not prefer anybody at the same time.

Nothing else is part of this dispute (with unions—Ed.). The ODS rejects any attempts to make this dispute the subject of blackmail by any tripartite partner, Klaus said.

Intelligence Chief: Rampant Use of Bugging Possible

AU2207143493 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 20 Jul 93 p 3

[Interview with Stanislav Devaty, director of the Security and Information Service, by Jana Lorencova; place and date not given: "All of Us Are Deformed"]

[Text] Intelligence services have always attracted attention, be it in the negative or positive sense. Our intelligence service is no exception in this regard, which is why we have asked the director of the Security and Information Service [BIS] for an interview.

[Lorencova] Mr. Devaty, in a recent news program, Czech Television devoted quite a bit of space to you and the BIS. Some deputies speaking on that program voiced the fear lest the BIS drift into the position of the former StB [State Security Corps] because, for half a year, there has been no control body to which it would be accountable.

[Devaty] I understand the deputies from the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] very well. They have their experience and know very well what the StB was capable of. However, apart from being somewhat piquant, their fears are also absurd. The very deputies who voice those fears know perfectly well that the StB could do anything because it had executive powers. We do not have any executive powers and therein lies the fundamental difference. This means that the BIS cannot arrest and interrogate anyone, which, as we know, the StB could do and of which it made ample use. This "awakening of spirits" by some left-wing deputies is either a consequence of ignorance, which I do not assume, so as not to offend them, or it is deliberate. The fact is, however, that it is mostly these deputies who try to affix the label of the former StB to the BIS.

[Lorencova] Speaking on the aforementioned program, Deputy Stanislav Kozak (Liberal Social Union) said that parliament had called upon you to submit to it by 30 June a report on the BIS's activity. You have supposedly submitted this report but, according to Mr. Kozak, although this report was comprehensive, it was at the same time very general and did not actually say anything. What kind of a report have you actually presented to parliament?

[Devaty] None at all because parliament did not ask me for one. I have no idea what Deputy Kozak is talking about. Judging from what he said, Mr. Kozak probably does not know it himself. I would just like to know why television did not immediately verify whether some report was to be presented to parliament, whether it was actually presented to it, and, if yes, what it was like.

[Lorencova] [In the television program] there was also talk about you not having been appointed to the post of BIS director definitively. Although it is evident from Prime Minister Klaus's attitude that he considers the issue of the filling of this post settled, you have not been officially appointed yet. How do you explain that?

[Devaty] There is no doubt that the definitive appointment is a matter on which there must be a coalition

agreement and, as far as I know, this issue has not yet been officially discussed by the coalition. Irrespective of my being, or becoming, the BIS director, I consider any haggling about filling this post to be very inauspicious for the further work of the BIS and its development. After the many shocks this service has experienced in the course of its brief existence, any additional change in its key posts would be very damaging.

[Lorencova] According to reliable reports, an intelligence service known as [Office for the] Protection of Economic Interests, which has until now operated under the Ministry of Interior, is to be subordinated to the BIS. This service is headed by Mr. Sula, former director of a hotel in Vietnam run by the Slusovice cooperative. Do you consider it out of the question that the commotion over the BIS might be partly stirred up precisely from there?

[Devaty] The Council for Intelligence Operations has really decided that the intelligence service working under the Ministry of Interior as [Office for the] Protection of Economic Interests and headed by Mr. Sula will be transferred under the jurisdiction of the BIS because it belongs under the BIS by its nature. I definitely cannot rule out the connections at which you have just hinted.

[Lorencova] The possibility has been discussed again [in the television program] of some deputies being bugged.

[Devaty] This question is hard to reply to. It is apparent that all of us are still somewhat deformed by the pre-November [1989] experience and find it difficult to acknowledge that we no longer face any such threats from official quarters. I can declare with all due responsibility that I do not know of a single case of intelligence-gathering equipment being used against any constitutional official. But I must also draw attention to the fact that more than 1,000 private security agencies operate in our republic at present. Some of them are very strong economically and have access to top-level intelligence-gathering equipment. Despite the high cost of this equipment, it is easily accessible to a number of them, given their financial and other possibilities. And then it is really no problem to install bugging devices where there is interest in bugging. Unlike the BIS, these private agencies need not justify the installation of bugging devices to anyone, nor do they have to wait for the prosecutor to give his consent. This is naturally illegal but it is a risk of which the operators of these agencies are well aware.

Weapons Found in Airport Neither Czech Nor Slovak

LD2307182993 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT
23 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 23 (CTK)—Weapons found at Maribor, Slovenia, airport are of neither Czech nor Slovak origin, Lucie Pilipova, spokeswoman for the Czech Foreign Ministry, confirmed to CTK today.

Slovenian top official bodies said that in no case the weapons had originated in the Czech or Slovak republics, Pilipova stressed.

The Belgrade daily "POLITIKA" wrote on Thursday that more than 150 tonnes of weapons and ammunition most probably of Czech or Slovak origin were found at Maribor Airport the day before. The paper estimated the weapons' worth more than one million dm.

The French agency AFP quotes today Mitja Klavora, director of the Slovenian anti-crime service, as announcing that the weapons found in Maribor came from Budapest.

The arms shipment, comprising 10,900 submachine guns of the Kalashnikov type, 40 trench-mortars, 757,000 charges and some mines, was destined to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the agency quotes the Maribor airport employees as saying.

Slovak Devaluation, Import Surcharge Assessed

AU2307153393 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in
Czech 22 Jul 93 p 2

["fr"-signed report: "Devaluation of Slovak Koruna Means Stability"]

[Text] The devaluation of the Slovak koruna and the possible introduction of an import surcharge [by Slovakia] could, in a certain way, have a positive impact on the Czech Republic, Ivan Sujan, deputy chairman of the Czech Statistical Office [CSU], told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

According to a CSU study on this issue, the two steps will probably eliminate the trade imbalance between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic—that is, they will obviate the need for measures agreed upon in the clearing agreement in the event of the set limit [for a trade deficit] being exceeded. Without the impact of the devaluation and the import surcharge, Ivan Sujan said, the set limit would definitely have been exceeded because CSU estimates forecast a surplus of 8.5 billion korunas in the Czech Republic's trade with Slovakia for 1993.

The devaluation of 10 percent and the contemplated Slovak import surcharge of 20 percent affecting roughly 50 percent of Czech exports would raise the relative price of Czech exports to Slovakia by approximately 9 percent. One arrives at this sum by subtracting the increase of the price level in Slovakia (7.4 percent) from the increase of the prices of Czech exports to Slovakia (16.4 percent). These sums must be reduced 50 percent when considering the year 1993 as a whole [because the devaluation and import surcharge will only affect trade in the second half of the year].

The relative cost of imports from the Slovak Republic, on the other hand, would decline 4.2 percent, with the average for 1993 as a whole being, once again, 50 percent lower. Once again, this is a compound of the direct consequences of the devaluation of the Slovak koruna and of the increase of the price level in Slovakia.

Assuming that, under normal circumstances, the 1993 level of mutual trade between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic would represent roughly 75 percent of the 1992 level and assuming, furthermore, the unit elasticity of imports [jednotkova elasticita dovozu], one arrives at the

conclusion that the Czech Republic will have a surplus of 3.6 billion korunas in its trade with Slovakia this year. This is roughly the volume of surplus generated in the January-May period. In other words, starting next year, stability should be introduced into our trade relations. According to Ivan Sujan, it is also possible to estimate the impact of the Slovak koruna's devaluation and the import surcharge on the Czech Republic's gross domestic product. The two factors should account for roughly a 0.32 drop in GDP.

Extent of Foreign Investment in Republic Outlined

AU2307181593 Prague CTK in English 1245 GMT
21 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 21 (CTK)—The volume of foreign investments in the Czech economy from 1990 to March 1993 reached 1.86 billion USD [U.S. Dollars] and is on the increase, according to data provided by the agency Czechinvest and carried by the daily CESKY DENIK today.

German companies top the list of investors with 32 percent of total investments, followed by American firms with 30 percent. Next is France with 14 percent and Belgium with 7 percent. Switzerland, Australia and Italy each account for between 2 and 5 percent.

The companies with the biggest volume of foreign investments are Skoda in Mlada Boleslav (Volkswagen), Tabak in Kutna Hora (Philip Morris), Cokoladovny in Prague-Modrany (Nestle), and Czechoslovak Airlines (Air France and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development—EBRD).

Foreign investments have gone predominantly into transport (23 percent), industrial production (13 percent) and food processing (10 percent). Nine percent of all funds have been invested into the banking sector and three percent into chemical production.

HSDMS Wants Referendum on Attitudes Toward Moravia

AU2307182493 Prague CTK in English 0911 GMT
21 Jul 93

[Text] Brno July 21 (CTK)—The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS) intends to submit to the Czech parliament a bill on a referendum which would ask whether residents of Moravia identify with the historical Moravian Land, HSDMS Chairman Jan Krycer told CTK today.

The bill will be submitted within a few days, he said.

The HSDMS also intends to introduce an initiative in parliament to adopt Czech Lands as the unofficial designation of the Czech Republic, instead of Cechy (Bohemia), he added.

Krycer also said the coming months would be decisive for the party because it was preparing a constitutional law on territorial division of the country. For our deputies that

means only one thing: To defend and fight for what they promised, the indivisibility of Moravia and Silesia, he said.

Dailies Comment on Uhde Privatization Scandal

AU2307182593 Prague CTK in English 0819 GMT
21 Jul 93

[Excerpt] Prague July 21 (CTK)—The right-oriented TELEGRAF dismisses the suggestion that Chairman of the Parliament Milan Uhde had supported for personal gain a project of the private Ceska Kniha (Czech Book) company, co-owned by his wife, when he was minister of culture. The whole affair has been created quite artificially and it is just a question who is behind it all, writes the paper. In a similar way, Miroslav Macek was mistreated and used as a means to attack the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and to cast doubt on the credibility of high-ranking politicians, states TELEGRAF.

The writer expresses his fear of the future if the whole affair was fabricated by journalists who, on principle, attack anyone who holds power. Whoever works in the mass media and whose activity is not guided strictly by a search for truth, but by a silly presentation of unverified and attractive inventions, becomes dangerous in general, concludes TELEGRAF.

The left-oriented RUDE PRAVO reacts to the same issue in an article called a Look From the Other Side. The whole Ceska Kniha affair should be sufficient to make from the former minister and current parliament chairman a writer again, writes the daily. It points to the fact that this is not the first intervention of this sort, as Milan Uhde acted similarly as minister of culture with the privatisation project of his party colleague Miroslav Macek in the matter of Knizni Velkoobchod (Book Wholesale).

The independent MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that it is certainly not inappropriate politically that Minister Uhde, in a letter sent to former Privatisation Minister Tomas Jezek, explained how to save stocks of books worth billions. But on the part of Milan Uhde, it was improvident, to say the least, that he had been pushing through this entrepreneurial activity as a minister although he had known that his wife featured on the list of partners of the recommended company, claims MLADA FRONTA DNES.

The case of the Czech parliament chairman is mentioned also in the Christian-oriented LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, which points to the absence of the law on conflict of interests. If the legal regulation of conflicts of interest is only of a declaratory type, or if it is completely missing, then it is up to each individual whether he or she is able to observe the unwritten moral code and not to abuse his or her position for personal gain, writes the paper. [passage omitted]

Statistical Office Outlines June Price Development

AU2407134093 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Jul 93 p 8

[Czech Statistical Office report: "The Development of Prices and Cost of Living in June in the Czech Republic"]

[Text] In the first half of the year, the level of consumer prices increased 12.1 percent (June against December 1991). This increase was mostly caused by a more pronounced increase in prices in January (8.5 percent), and partially in February (1.3 percent), in connection with the introduction of the value-added tax. In March and June, the monthly tempos of growth slowed down significantly (increase between 0.4 and 0.6 percent).

In June, the monthly tempo of growth was 0.4 percent. At the same time, prices for food products (0.2 percent increase) and public catering almost stagnated, and only prices for non-food products rose slightly by 0.4 percent, and 0.7 percent in the case of services.

There was a slight movement in both directions in prices for most products in June. In services, prices moved pronouncedly only for water and sewage (17.7 percent increase).

The increase of consumer prices, 12.1 percent since the beginning of the year (against December), was influenced by an increase in prices for services by 18.7 percent, public catering 17.6 percent, nonfood products 11.9 percent, and food products 6.8 percent.

Cost of living, reflecting the increase in consumer prices, rose slightly in all types of households in June (0.4 percent in households of employees and farmers, and 0.2 percent in households of pensioners).

Poll: Support for ODS Declines to 26 Percent

AU2607105693 Prague CTK in English 1350 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) would receive 26 percent of the vote if there were a parliamentary election at the end of July, according to a poll conducted early this month. This is their worst poll performance since the end of last year. The ODS received 29 percent of the vote in last June's elections to the Czech National Council.

Of their coalition partners, the ODA (Civic Democratic Alliance), fared best—with eight percent compared to five percent last June. But the KDU-CSL (Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party) remained at six percent, and the Christian Democratic Party received only one percent.

The poll was carried out by the Institute for Public Opinion Research among 850 individuals throughout the Czech Republic.

The Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) would take 13 percent of the vote, the Left Bloc seven percent and the Liberal Social Union four percent. The LSU figure does not include responses for the Liberal National Social Party

(LSNS), which received 0.3 percent. Miroslav Sladek's party, the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), was supported by three percent of respondents, while the Self-Governing Democracy Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS) and the Civic Movement (OH) polled 2 percent.

Other responses were given by three percent of the respondents, and 24 percent gave no answer or were undecided.

Only 39 percent said they would definitely go to vote in an election now, while 26 percent probably would and ten percent probably would not. Twelve percent declared they would definitely not vote, while 13 percent did not know. Hence the proportion of citizens willing to vote has sunk slightly compared to last month (from 70 percent to 65). By contrast, there has been a slight increase in the proportion of abstainers and undecided voters.

Forest Restitution To Be Completed by End of 1994

AU2607121593 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—As many as 730,000 hectares of forests have thus far been returned to their original owners, representing about 72 percent of total restitution claims.

Jiri Oliva, general director of the company Lesy (Forests) CR said at a press conference today that forest restitution should be completed by the end of next year.

Oliva said state forest companies were administering 2.4 million hectares of forests before 1989. Out of this, about 1.2 million hectares are expected to be subject to restitution. Lesy CR has thus far received 150,000 applications for restitution of forest lands. About 250 persons are asking for property larger than 200 hectares, Oliva pointed out.

About 52 percent of the Czech Republic's forests should be privatised, and the rest should remain in state ownership, Oliva said. The first draft principles for privatisation of forests is being prepared by the Czech Ministry of Agriculture and should be submitted to the government in the near future.

Oliva said that state ownership of a certain amount of forest land enables the government to influence price policy in the area of wood processing and sales. It is at the same time an important capital reserve, he said.

Klaus: Farmers' Demand for Protection 'Impossible'

AU2607122693 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Prague July 22 (CTK)—Farmers want a larger protection for the domestic market. They demand the impossible, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today at a press conference of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), of which he is the chairman.

Klaus pointed out that the farmers demanding major domestic market protection want the government to

ensure higher prices of agricultural products and a price reduction for agricultural inputs.

No government, and the Czech Republic Government either, can do that. Any artificial price rise in agricultural products would turn against the entire Czech agriculture, provoking a drop in demand for agricultural products, Klaus warned.

He stated that he would gladly meet with farmers after the Czech minister of agriculture, Josef Lux, had returned from his vacations.

The area of agriculture has been the target of sharp criticism from some parties and farmers' organisations recently. On Monday [19 July], the opposition Self-Governing Democracy Movement for Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS, 14 seats in the 200-seat parliament) called for the immediate dismissal of Lux, citing a critical economic state of farming.

On Wednesday [21 July], Klaus reacted to a petition from the Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union and the Czech-Moravian Union of Farming Cooperatives.

He told journalists that though the petition motioned no new problem, he would check at the Agriculture Ministry how it communicated with representatives of farmers.

The petition calls for accelerated and more transparent privatisation of farming, and criticises insufficient state support for enterprise in farming.

The opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU, 16 parliamentary seats), a member of which is the Agrarian Party, today joined the criticism of the state of agricultural primary production as contained in the farmers' petition.

It said that the government was responsible for the systematic, continued and senseless destruction of agriculture.

The LSU thinks that some damage done to farmers cannot be undone.

Klaus Discusses Relations With Church

AU2307164393 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
20 Jul 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Smrcek; place and date not given: "People Have Not Awaken Yet..."]

[Text] In connection with the tight relations within the coalition, the protracted dispute over church-property restitution, and opinions on the status of the church, we asked Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], for an interview.

[Smrcek] What does coalition mean to you?

[Klaus] In the first place, our coalition is a voluntary association that has been established on the basis of free elections, in which none of the parties won more than 51 percent of the votes. Nevertheless, the ODS received substantially more votes than the other parties of the existing government coalition. Sometimes, I tease my

partners when I say that among the 105 [coalition] deputies in Parliament, there is a quite conspicuous 66:39 ratio [Civic Democratic Party deputies to deputies of other coalition parties]. I do not understand complaints by other coalition parties regarding insufficient representation. If the 66:39 ratio resulted from the elections, and the ratio in the government is 10:9, then no one should complain. If there are two sons in a family, two kids, then their parents should love them equally. However, one is 13, and the other four. They have different strengths, possibilities, and abilities to tackle various things.

[Smrcek] It is said that the ODS is a one-man party, despite the fact that its members have different opinions. Can different opinions be articulated within the party?

[Klaus] A number of people really do have different opinions, and they articulate them. You must certainly have noticed that we have various attitudes toward various television or radio councils. We have deputies fighting for the establishment of a regional monopoly in newspaper distribution, while other members of our party think this is not liberal and is non-systemic [nesystemovy]. We have a deputy fighting against prostitution and venereal disease and trying to push for a bill that would solve a serious problem of social pathology. Others are saying that no legal steps can solve this. So, your statement regarding a one and only opinion within the ODS is not true. I would be happy if our ODS representatives were as systematic in presenting their ideas and opinions on both general and specific phenomena as I am. For three years, every Friday I have tried in the press to collect, finalize, fine-tune, and stabilize opinions on various matters. If a dozen of the most prominent ODS politicians did the same, then it could lead to a smaller or greater exchange of opinions. To put it simply, the ODS is not in that phase of development yet.

[Smrcek] Is the reformist course—the road away from the totalitarian regime—really irreversible?

[Klaus] Thousands of arguments prove that the Rubicon between the totalitarian and the democratic was crossed a long time ago and irreversibly. I see a problem in something completely different. Not everyone realizes that freedom has opened up opportunities and chances. Not all of us have enough strength and diligence to take these chances. It is not a totality or non-totally issue, but the question is how rich and pluralist our society is. I am afraid that our society is only now learning what citizenship means. There are a large number of people who woke up to new hopes, but they are passive, unfortunately. They have not woken up so as to be really productive. I consider this to be our main problem today.

[Smrcek] I spoke with the 80-year-old theologian, Professor Haring, who is critical of the church despite having been adviser to five popes. He criticizes the Vatican's authority and, despite this, a profound belief radiates out of him. He is simply a Christian, without needing institutions to that purpose. I understand that your reproach about the television broadcast from Velehrad, where the Catholic Church consecrated the nation to the Virgin

Mary, was something similar. I do not believe that your statement was caused by your backache and the fact that you were bedridden? What is your attitude toward Christianity, by the way?

[Klaus] I have explained several times my views on the importance of Christianity to the life of each of us, to the life of Europe. I do not believe that we should be trying to seek grandiose words, since this is something that everyone can do. Pragmatism applied to our everyday lives is much more essential. I do not want to expand on the dispute among the host of deputies and reporters in the corridors of our buzzing Parliament, a dispute which was aroused by my three sentences. I do not want to make an affair out of it. However, I would like to separate and analyze the three sentences addressed to Velehrad, sentences pronounced while I was standing and addressing statements to various reporters on the subject of Bosnia, the law on aerosols, and the law on anticommunist resistance. You cannot always choose, while standing and switching from one subject to another, the optimal word, as you would write in the seclusion of your study. I do not want to start a discussion on whether the word "the last straw," which I used, was the most perfect verbal formulation. On the other hand, the bishops' written statement is something else. It is a statement that was formulated, since someone worked on the text, and someone knowingly signed it and sent to the media. The words there have a different strength and meaning from the words I said. In this connection I must say that in the bishops' statement there were deliberately false statements, when they say that I want to determine which pilgrimage should take place and which not. I do not want to elaborate on that issue, but it is worth mentioning.

[Smrcek] I had a "disagreement" with Professor Haring, when I tried to explain to him that as far as church property restitution is concerned, in a law-abiding state stolen property must be returned. He said that in a law-abiding state, it is impossible to raise claims decades later and try to renew former legal relations....

[Klaus] My opinion is the same. I say that it is impossible to return the world to 24 February 1948, the eve of the communist putsch. Regarding the "stolen property", I would like to say that we must differentiate in this case. Let us distinguish between two situations. First, you have

something today, and someone steals it from you—in that case what was stolen should be returned, and the role of the state and its administration is to help the victim. On the other hand, it is a totally different matter to force today's administration to return what was stolen in 1946, or 1948. This is quite a different task. I believe that the what-has-been-stolen-should-be-returned argument should not apply to church property restitution, for procedural and conceptual reasons.

[Smrcek] Dominik Duka, one of the three church representatives in the talks with the state administration, said not so long ago that he was afraid that the problem of restitution could become too political, and become a problem of political parties. I have heard it said that politicians are trying to become more "visible" by this fight....

[Klaus] I do not want to create a principal problem out of it by saying another "pretty sentence," which would immediately be blown up and exaggerated, and made into something major. This problem has already been politicized. I believe that no one can return this problem from the political to the business sphere. This problem will simply remain a political problem. This causes me to return to the general issue that must be solved, that is, the separation of the church from the state. The sooner it is done the better—for the state, the people and the church. Now, we have peculiar relations. Last week, the president of the republic demanded that I be present at the appointment of Constitutional Court judges. I participated in this solemn event, I was seated in the front row with the chairman of Parliament and the deputy prime minister. On the other side, also in the front row of the hall, were seated Archbishop Vlk, other bishops, and representatives of our churches. I have nothing against it, but I raised my eyebrows slightly about representatives of churches being present at the appointment of judges of the Constitutional Court. Nothing improper has happened, but I still do not know why representatives of churches were present, and not representatives of dozens and even hundreds of other civic associations, groups, unions, and institutions. I do not want to comment on it any more, but I am in favor of solving the relation between the state and the church.

HZDS, SNS Hold Talks; Meciar Accuses Cernak
LD2407190093 Prague CTK in English 1824 GMT
24 Jul 93

[Text] Bardejovske Kupele, July 24 (CTK)—The leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) at its caucus today approved its representatives' position in coalition talks with the Slovak National Party (SNS) and recommended continuing the talks.

HZDS chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar confirmed the caucus had received a fax from the SNS indicating its willingness to continue the talks, and that it had taken the fax into consideration in reaching its final decision.

Meciar added that SNS Chairman Ludovit Cernak had asked Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth for more than one million Slovak crowns from the state in financial support for the SNS, allegedly with Meciar's approval, but that he, Meciar, knew nothing about the matter.

Meciar said Cernak had discredited himself with the request so far that Meciar could now no longer carry out discussions with him on membership in the government.

Cernak Denies Accusation

LD2407191393 Prague CTK in English 1841 GMT
24 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava, July 24 (CTK)—Slovak National Party (SNS) Chairman Ludovit Cernak today denied accusations that he had asked Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth for more than one million crowns from the state in financial support for his party.

Speaking on Slovak Radio, he said that neither he nor any SNS parliamentary deputy or other representative had ever made such a request.

The allegation of the request was reported originally by the state-run news agency of the Slovak Republic (TA SR), then repeated by leaders of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), including HZDS chairman and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, during and after the movement's leadership caucus today.

Cernak Condemns 'Disinformation'

LD2507194393 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT
25 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava, July 25 (CTK)—Slovak National Party (SNS) chairman, Ludovit Cernak, declared on Slovak Radio today that the misleading information spread by circles near the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on coalition talks with SNS contained other interests than those of Slovakia. This disinformation could bring coalition discussions to a halt, he claimed.

Cernak announced at the same time that his party would be forced to make public information on the coalition negotiations to the extent necessary to defend its honour.

As to his alleged request for financial aid, from Minister of Finance Julius Toth, Cernak stated it was a lie.

After Saturday's meeting of the HZDS caucus in Bardejova, southern Slovakia, Premier Meciar said Cernak had been so discredited for him that there would be no place for Cernak in the government. He added that he (Cernak) is going to have to try so that it's not me sitting at the table, that it's not me who is the premier of the government.

Hungarian Party Criticizes Talks

AU2607124593 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT
22 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava July 22 (CTK)—Predictions of early elections in connection with the current coalition talks are only for show, and are focussing attention away from real problems, said Laszlo Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS).

The leader of the extra-parliamentary party likened the threats to a ritual dance, and added that problems in the ministries, which are critical, are being ignored because of the coalition discussions between the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) and the Slovak National Party (SNS). Arguments over seats, mandates and positions are the topic, said Nagy. Instead of acute problems, power questions are being discussed.

The MOS speaker, Kalman Petocz, noted that a plan for agriculture, passed recently by the Slovak parliament, is a return to the previous system of cooperatives.

Parliament approved an amendment affecting ownership rights of agricultural land on July 15. The bill was passed only after approval of its most controversial point, an article addressing restitution demands of ethnic Hungarians, who had had their land confiscated following the Second World War on the basis of collective guilt.

Petocz emphasised that the bill could mean a popular solution for unprofitable Slovak farms, but not for Slovakia's economy as a whole. He warned that northern Slovakia is experiencing a shortage of good quality agriculture products, especially vegetables, fruit and meat, while they are over-abundant in the south. Petocz suggested that prices are so low that they do not even cover production costs, adding that the current government's agriculture policy will ruin the sector.

'Source' Cited on Efforts To Replace Meciar

LD2507154093 Prague CTK in English 1505 GMT
25 Jul 93

[Text] Prague, July 25 (CTK)—The group of deputies of the governing Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) has quite recently discussed the alternative to replace Premier Vladimir Meciar by parliament chairman, Ivan Gasparovic, a reliable source, which did not want to be mentioned, told CTK today.

According to the source, this trend in the HZDS was weaker now because there was still hope of a coalition between the movement and the Slovak National Party (SNS), bolstered by the fact that the SNS deputies had voted for the HZDS candidate in the position of the supreme inspection office chairman.

It is a schizophrenic situation because the HZDS deputies realise that Meciar is leading them into destruction, but at the same time it is just him who is able to create the coalition, said the unnamed source. He added that the effort to replace Meciar with someone else would reappear in autumn.

Meciar himself confirmed contemplations on his dismissal on July 22 in an interview with the Slovak radio when he spoke about an attempt to place someone from HZDS in the position of premier, thus creating the impression that it was a broad coalition. Unlike CTK's source, Meciar attributed the attempt to the opposition.

Meciar: Czech Amendment on Visas 'Acceptable'

LD2507095093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0730 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] According to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, the phrasing of the amendment to the agreement on abolishing visa requirements between the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic, as adopted by the Czech Government, is acceptable. He also expects that it will be accepted by his cabinet.

Speaking at a news conference after deliberations by the leadership of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia in Bardejovske Kupele, Meciar said it was likely that the government would entrust Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik with signing or initialing the agreement but only on the condition that he recommend that an agreement on passport control procedures be signed at the same time.

According to Jozef Moravcik, the Slovak Government is to discuss the amendment to the agreement at its next meeting on 27 July.

Meciar on Currency Devaluation, Arms Industry

LD2507205893 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1710 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Regular Sunday nationwide television address by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Some letters by readers published in newspapers asked why I had not commented on the currency devaluation. First of all, devaluation is the business of the bank, we knew that it was being prepared but as far as the actual date of the devaluation was concerned I, personally, learned about it only when the devaluation was declared.

The fact is that devaluation brings with it the unfavorable consequence of price adjustments and at the same time the favorable effect of a positive response to trends in the development of foreign trade. In the long run it motivates this trade, supports exports, and acts as a brake on imports. Devaluation on its own will not be a sufficient guarantee of reaching a turning point in the economic situation. It can, however, be an adequate guarantee of the consolidation of the state's foreign currency reserves, and thus also of the quality of the currency.

Issues relating to devaluation have a broad impact—on consumer goods, on production costs, adjustment of issues

relating to the import of technologies, raw materials, etc. To allow us to come to terms with the negative impacts, we have asked companies in Slovakia to comment on customs tariffs. By the liberalization of customs rates we want to regulate the market; this means to regulate competition on our market in a certain way. On the other hand we also want to achieve the protection of the market for our producers.

We advertised, we addressed companies, asking them to say what they needed, and it is interesting that so far not a single one has responded. Are they not concerned for the internal market of the Slovak Republic? Is it not there that 40 percent of what is produced is consumed?

Of course, questions pertaining to peace, calm, and stability, for which many of you yearn, are quite complicated. I had meetings with managers of production plants that had previously been active in the arms industry in Slovakia. This industry is a part of the whole engineering complex, which is in a very bad way. The bad situation is caused by the disintegration of markets and also by the nature of the final product which is a [word indistinct] semi-finished product dependent on cooperation with other countries. It is also caused by the conversion of the arms industry which in actual fact did not materialize in our country. What did materialize was the destruction of the arms industry within about three years. Conversion presumes a rate of five to 10 percent annually, in our case it was more than 30 percent.

The revival of the arms industry is therefore a matter of technology—that is, what we are still capable of producing. It is a commercial matter; our trade is very badly organized. Not only trade in arms but in engineering products as such, even in markets where we have gained a foothold. The organization of trade, activities, and cash flow is so lacking that to a certain degree it influences also the final product of all engineering plants in Slovakia. We can say that the engineering industry is, after farming, the second most afflicted branch. [passage omitted]

We do not want to be the arsenal of Central Europe but we are forced to frankly tell our managers that if the Czech Republic is currently considering the introduction of the arms production that exists in Slovakia, our managers have the advantage of having the technology in place, they have the advantage in the professional skills of their people, they have the advantage in research and development. They are worse off in the organization of trade, and therefore also in marketing. The Czech Republic has an advantage in that sense since the main trading organizations are on its territory.

To lose our advantage would mean the end of any kind of possibility of revival of this production any time in the future. The government will create the necessary conditions but the specific answer must come from those who manage the individual companies. [passage omitted]

Central Bank Releases Balance Statement

AU2307072193 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in
Slovak 21 Jul 93 p 4

["Slovak National Bank Balance Statement"]

[Text]

**The Slovak National Bank [NBS] Balance (in million
Slovak korunas)**

	30 June 1993	10 July 1993
ASSETS		
gold	2,277.7	2,277.7
deposits with foreign banks and securities	6,059.6	6,620.6
deposits with international institutions		
—convertible currency	2,502.6	2,502.6
—nonconvertible currency	24,083.0	24,083.0
receivables abroad		
—convertible currency	—	—
—nonconvertible currency	1,715.2	551.7
receivables from domestic banks		
—in foreign exchange	—	—
—in Slovak korunas	45,031.0	44,026.5
credits extended to clients	336.3	358.4
claims against the state budget		
—current management	5,922.1	7,259.4
—state financial liabilities	39,382.9	39,383.4
—treasury bills, state debentures	5,327.0	7,847.0
securities and shares	296.7	296.7
cash	3.5	4.2
other assets	1,257.3	1,207.0
total	134,194.9	136,418.2
LIABILITIES		
currency issue	26,468.0	27,330.9
payables to foreign banks and securities		
—convertible currency	2,590.0	2,714.6
—nonconvertible currency	2,058.8	2,306.5
payables to international institutions		
—convertible currency	16,665.4	16,665.4
—nonconvertible currency	24,375.8	24,375.8
payables to domestic banks		
—in foreign exchange	22.0	22.0
—in Slovak korunas	16,061.1	16,420.3
clients' deposits	2,277.2	2,562.0
obligations against the state budget		

—current management	—	—
—state financial assets	13,483.3	13,484.9
—state funds	161.2	139.0
securities issued	—	—
NBS's own capital	1,716.3	1,716.3
other NBS's own resources	3,064.9	3,152.8
other liabilities	25,250.9	25,527.7
total	134,194.9	136,418.2

[Signed] Engineer Marian Tkac, candidate of sciences, NBS vice governor

Deputies Present Alternate Procedure Bill

AU2607121793 Prague CTK in English 1337 GMT
22 Jul 93

[Text] Bratislava July 22 (CTK)—The parliamentary group of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) has worked out and presented to the Slovak National Party (SNS) a draft bill on parliamentary procedure which is different from the one proposed by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, SNS Honourary Chairman Jozef Prokes told journalists today.

The draft bill is in principle compatible with the Slovak Constitution, chairman of the SNS Parliamentary Group Marian Andel said, adding that at the July 21 coalition talks, Meciar still held on to his version of the bill despite the fact that the new proposal was already available on July 19.

The Meciar bill restricts parliamentary mandates and retroactively (something seen as giving him leverage for dealing with a secessionist, Milan Kuzko-led group of former HZDS deputies—Ed.), Andel said.

Unless there is a consensus by July 24, coalition talks adjourned on July 21 will probably be resumed, the date depending on an SNS Central Council decision at its meeting in Zilina, Western Slovakia, likely to be called over the coming weekend.

The talks between the HZDS and SNS reached an impasse and were eventually suspended due to a disagreement over the bill on parliamentary procedure presented by the HZDS, SNS Deputy Vladimir Miskovsky told CTK on July 21, adding that the HZDS refuses to budge on the issue.

The HZDS might waive the retroactivity principle, but it is sticking to introduction of a principle of narrowing down the parliamentary mandate of deputies who relinquished their party membership in the course of their tenure. The measure would effectively bring their status down to that of a former federal deputy, Miskovsky said.

The SNS view is that it cannot give in on the latter point because it violates the Constitution, Miskovsky said. We have little to discuss with them on this point, he added.

Antall Discusses Relations With Czechs

LD2307223893 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1905 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's nerves are on edge. He reacted in a fairly irritated manner to [Hungarian Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall's letter encouraging him to take a stance. [passage omitted]

In Prime Minister Klaus's view, questioning of the Benes decrees is unacceptable to the Czech Republic. For this reason he said he does not even want to mention it before Czech public opinion. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will make a statement in our program about the contents of this letter. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, in your view, why is there a need for the repeal, the annulment, of the Benes decrees? How do you evaluate these laws that were passed after World War II?

[Antall] A proportion of these is a matter of fact. However, there are some issues which can not humanly be compensated; people cannot be resurrected. People and certain frontier lines—obviously in the interest of the European status quo—cannot be simply started from the beginning, but the legal offenses, and things that can be compensated, must be compensated. Consequently, every political step has to be taken that can be taken under present conditions. This applies to human rights, minority rights. Those steps have to be taken with which we can abolish measures of a discriminative nature. [passage omitted]

In Benes's way of thinking, in his mentality, there was an explicit anti-Hungarianness. Hungary's isolation, this entire Kosice decree, this entire sense of uncertainty vis-a-vis Hungary, was to be found in Benes's policy. Although he was a bourgeois politician, he was willing to bring this into harmony with Soviet policy. Well, this is a political motivation which did not exactly endear him to my heart, and so that is perhaps one reason why I expressed myself about him in a rather subjective way. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] But I wonder how we can explain the Czech prime minister's unusually irritated and nervous reaction to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's letter.

[Antall] I don't know if it was irritated or nervous, but I agree with the Polish assessment that the whole affair is a little bit exaggerated. The fact is that the exchange of letters, or rather my letter, was received in an irritated way, and it was interpreted in a way that did not accord with reality both by the press in both the Czech Republic and Hungary after Prime Minister Klaus partially outlined my letter on Czech television. The only response I could make was to have the whole letter published the next day in the Hungarian papers.

The preliminary was that the Czech prime minister sent an envoy to the Hungarian foreign minister before this block vote took place in Strasbourg on the admission of Slovakia and the Czech Republic [to the Council of Europe]. This showed the extreme alertness of Czech diplomacy, which

obviously included the matter of the Czech admission, and on the other hand, in parallel with this, the Slovak admission as well.

Hungary has its demands. These are the use of Hungarian names, the use of Hungarian names for places that have Hungarian names; the survival of the Hungarian-inhabited territories in the planned eventual administrative reorganization; concern about the language of instruction at educational institutions. Naturally, we referred to the legal abolition of the disadvantages which affect Hungarians collectively, which concerned the Benes-Kosice program.

[Reporter] I wonder if the head of the Czech Government rejected this because the Czech Republic is also concerned about the Sudeten Germans?

[Antall] This concerns issues of the period after World War II which go beyond these matters. Our duty is to deal, also as a result of our Constitution, with the affairs of the Hungarians beyond the borders, and to give voice to this.

As for what could have motivated Klaus's response, this can only be a matter for conjecture. At all events, it seems to me that even the Czech press does not agree with the Klaus view that, apart from human rights, there is no need to deal with minority rights. I rejected this immediately here at the CEI conference, and I indicated that minority rights are inseparable from human rights. Today this is taken as self-evident in Europe and in the Council of Europe. So, this outlook by now cannot be accepted, that we consider minority rights to be only a part of the guaranteeing of human rights and that we do not accept them as an individual category.

[Reporter] Why was this letter addressed to Czech Prime Minister Klaus?

[Antall] I am a courteous man. Consequently, when I returned from Germany and before he came here to Budapest, I summed up in a letter the reply which accorded precisely with our stance in Strasbourg [on Slovakia's entry to the Council of Europe]. He received this letter prior to the Budapest meeting, and afterwards he quoted part of it on television. So, it was not I who brought it into the open. However, I replied to it in a courteous manner, and afterwards he outlined part of it on television, though his interpretation was not entirely understandable and a partial quote can always give cause for misunderstanding. I simply made it public.

Afterwards, however, in the reply, or rather at the beginning of it, he voiced his amazement, and made the whole thing look as if I had turned to the Czech Republic [to mediate in Hungarian-Slovak relations], as it were by circumventing Slovakia. This was naturally immediately pounced upon by a part of the Hungarian press and certain Hungarian political pronouncements as well.

There was no question of that. What happened was that I replied to the Czechs in response to the Czech inquiry, after we had already clarified these things with President Michal Kovac, and we agreed that we would not go into details; this was announced on television. In just the same way, Ukrainian President Kravchuk has also been

approached, but he was not willing to go into this either. And here a diplomatic demarche was under way.

So, from the beginning, what we have been striving for is the development of good relations with Czechoslovakia. And after the separation, I would like to remind the esteemed viewers—and everybody—that Hungary was the first to invite Slovakia and the Czech Republic separately. We invited them separately when the issue of separation was decided. So Hungary, despite all rumors to the contrary, has consistently striven to meet the Visegrad Three, and when the separation became a fact, to meet the sides separately as well in Budapest. So, all allegations that Hungary is not striving for good relations with its neighbors, with Czechoslovakia or with the two separated countries, simply do not accord with reality.

A characteristic of Czechoslovak policy, both in the matter of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros barrage and in the minority issue, no matter what kind of government it has, was that neither of them wanted to get into a disadvantaged situation for domestic political reasons. What this means is that the Czechoslovak Government did not reply for weeks and months to letters on the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros issue. It is not my wish to connect the two things. But it was clear that a process of separation had begun; inner Czech and Slovak conflicts existed. In this situation, everyone would have had problems with each other, with their own domestic political forces, the more intransigent groups, if they conducted an excessively tolerant policy. This is why they failed for weeks and months to reply to our letters, or why in minority issues they were also fairly rigid. The adherents of federal policy, such as President Havel, obviously did not want to go any further on the paths that promoted separation. So, we had to take all this into consideration.

Hungarian diplomacy, as hitherto, will proceed consistently in harmony with the Visegrad interests, in harmony with our joint endeavors deriving from our associate membership [of the EC]. So, our aim is to have the best possible relations with the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and we will adopt a very determined stance, naturally not only for human rights but also for minority rights. [end recording]

Former Ethnic Hungarian Leader on Minority Issue

AU2407160793 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in
Hungarian 23 Jul 93 p 8

[Interview with Karoly Kiraly, former opposition member and senator, by Peter Mag in Budapest; date not given: "It Is Not Worth Dwelling on the Border Issue"]

[Text] Mutually renouncing the territorial demands and the new codification of inviolability of the existing borders, or simply the border issue, is an essential problem of Romanian-Hungarian relations. This is what the official Romanian policy firmly suggests. We asked Karoly Kiraly, one of the outstanding figures of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, for his opinion on the border debate, or the so-called border issue.

[Kiraly] In the artificially stirred atmosphere of mutual suspicion, this debate is not only useless but also clearly harmful. The border issue has always been a sensitive subject in our region, and it is a particularly sensitive issue now. Those who are dealing with this issue excessively are not doing so for the benefit of reconciliation and good neighborliness. Those who are urging the inclusion of the border issue into new treaties have some other different interests in this.

Realistically, Romania's problem is not the border issue. The issue behind this is not that Romania might be afraid of Hungary or the possibility that Hungary would force a border modification.

In this debate, for Romania, the stake is Transylvania and not the border. Transylvania, however, is not a border issue.

Transylvania is Europe. Transylvania has always been the land of Roman culture and tolerance toward others and each other, and it must continue to be like that not only from an ethnical viewpoint but from a religious one as well. Variety in ethnical and religious composition is traditional here. In this respect, Transylvania is different from other Romanian territories. In those territories, Byzantine culture and morals are traditional, while the Roman, the European culture and morals here are traditional.

The issue of Hungarians in Transylvania is behind the border clause. According to the traditional Romanian interpretation, the signing of this clause must mean that Hungary will simply give up caring for the fate of Hungarians in Transylvania and will fully abandon them to the Romanian state power which, thus, could carry out its plan on which it has been working hard for decades and which the extremists are now trying to expand and carry out with such zeal, namely to make the Hungarians in Transylvania face the choice: to either assimilate or emigrate.

By dwelling on the border issue, Romania also intends to stir internal tensions. It is doing this toward Hungary and against Hungary because, among the neighboring countries with which Romania has similar problems, Hungary seems to be the most prone for attack. Ukraine is stronger than Romania from every point of view, and Bulgaria is not such a big stake.

Summing it up, there are Romanian domestic policy and power interests behind the artificially blown up Hungarian threat.

They think that if they could sign the constantly demanded border clause without any ado, this would drive in a wedge between the Hungarians in Transylvania as part of a nation and the mother nation, and then this ethnic minority would be totally helpless and could be more easily dealt with.

[Mag] What could be the antidote for this maneuver disguised as a border issue?

[Kiraly] Self-determination, or various forms of autonomy to which national and ethnic minorities have a natural

right. Besides, this is inevitable in our region, irrespective of the views of representatives of various extremist trends on this. This is an integral part of the region's peace and stability. By granting adequate self-determination and autonomy, it is possible to avoid border debates and prevent territorial demands. The creation of a common Europe and the creation of a Europe of regions is unimaginable without the autonomy of national minorities.

[Mag] What would be the most adequate and realistically possible forms of autonomy for the Hungarians in Romania?

[Kiraly] The most suitable way for us is the gradual development and creation of internal self-determination, of various forms of autonomy, naturally, by creating a partnership relations between the majority nation with the domestic political factors and the state power and the ethnic minority, as well as by obtaining the necessary international support.

For the Hungarian population living in a territorial autonomy, this would exclude any problem of geographical affiliation from the outset and would prevent the constantly emerging or mostly artificially stirred border debates.

In the case of Hungarians living in smaller groups or in local communities, different forms of autonomy should be used, also by respecting the principles of internal self-determination, especially in the areas of public administration, administration of justice, educational policy, and intellectual and cultural life, by taking into consideration the given communities' right of self-determination in every local and community issue that affects them.

Finally, the institution of personal autonomy that has a natural place in the framework of a democratic constitutional state must be guaranteed for the national minorities living in fragments.

No form of self-determination endangers the interests and rights of the majority and the other national minorities, or the integrity and power of the state. On the contrary: a state granting such forms of autonomy can only become a more stable and secure factor for the peace and calm of the region and the whole continent.

Customs Official: Arms Found in 'Humanitarian Aid'

LD2307174793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] According to Slovene investigators, the largest illegal arms shipment of recent times has arrived at Maribor from Budapest. This week more than 10,000 kalashnikovs and other weapons worth altogether around \$7 million were found at the town's airport. According to the first findings of the investigation, arms shipments disguised as humanitarian aid have several times arrived at the Slovene airport during the past two years. The arms are alleged to have been later flown to Croatia or Bosnia by Russian pilots.

Istvan Zsoemle, leader of the central duty service at the Customs and Excise Guard, said that on 28 September last

year two Ukrainian aircraft landed at Ferihegy airport [in Budapest] airport]. Because the IL-76 planes en route from Sudan to Maribor did not load at the Hungarian airport, they did not make a declaration at the customs office. The planes carrying humanitarian aid continued on their way to Maribor the same day. Istvan Zsoemle added that, apart from the Ukrainians, only one IL-76 with Russian markings took off from Ferihegy in September, but that one was heading for Russia. The leader of the duty service said The National Customs and Excise Guard has not yet been officially notified by the Slovene customs directorate about the arms found in Maribor.

Spokesman Says Danube Shipping Should Be Ensured

LD2307183693 Budapest MTI in English 1749 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—Hungary attaches primary importance to ensuring the continuity of shipping on the Danube, naturally in accordance with the relevant resolution of the UN Security Council, Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Janos Herman, told MTI.

Herman was reacting to a report from Bucharest, whereby Hungary is not represented at a conference that opened in the Romanian Foreign Ministry and which regards the Danube embargo.

The spokesman said the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council is dealing with the problems of Danube shipping at present, and the issue was one of the main topics discussed at the recent coordination conference held in Vienna. The theme is also on the agenda of the Danube Commission, Herman said.

There have been no problems with the issuing of transit permits for Danube shipping in the past period. An example noted is Thursday's issuing of favourable replies for 26 transit requests to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry by the competent authorities.

In this situation, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry did not deem attendance at the Bucharest meeting indispensable. In fact, Hungary is not the only absentee, as many other countries along the Danube, or countries directly interested in Danube shipping, are also not participants at the meeting, Herman added.

Current Account Deficit Doubles in March

LD2307161593 Budapest MTI in English 1414 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI-ECONews)—Hungary's current account deficit rose by USD 477m in March and stood at USD 900m at the end of the first quarter, the National Bank of Hungary announced on Friday.

In February, the C/A [current account] deficit grew by USD 288m, from USD 135m at the end of January.

At the end of March, the trade balance deficit in the current account stood at USD 698m, with exports worth USD 1.973bn and imports totalling USD 2.672bn. The

trade deficit grew by USD 322m in March, with imports of more than USD 1bn and exports of USD 683m.

Net direct cash investment in the first three months amounted to USD 296m, of which USD 135m arrived in March and only USD 44m in February.

Hungary's international reserves stood at USD 5.0502bn at the end of the first quarter, as compared to USD 4.5217bn at the end of February and USD 4.7781bn at the end of January.

The gross foreign debt grew in March by nearly USD 913m to USD 22.9432bn, from USD 22.0304bn in February and USD 21.8859bn at the end of January.

Total direct foreign cash investment stood at USD 3.7143bn at the end of March as against USD 3.5426bn at the end of the previous month.

In a recent interview, Sandor Czirjak, vice president of the National Bank of Hungary, said that the current account deficit at the end of June was estimated at USD 1.5bn and that direct foreign cash investment was some USD 600m in the first six months. He said that the current account deficit might reach USD 1.5-2bn by the end of the year, which would be partially offset by the expected direct foreign cash investment of USD 1.2-1.5bn.

As a result, Hungary's external debt might grow by USD 300-500m this year, which Czirjak argued was not a dramatic increase if Hungary's economy is fundamentally sound.

Drop in Unemployment Registered in June

AU2307181693 Budapest MTI in English 0654 GMT 22 Jul 93

[Text] Budapest, 22 Jul (MTI)—The number of jobless among those between the ages of 15 and 74 in Hungary was 518,000 at the end of June, according to Central Statistical Office (CSO) figures.

The figures show a drop of 28,000 compared to the previous quarter, with the unemployment rate falling from 11.8 percent to 11.2 percent.

The CSO figures are different from those in a report released by the National Labour Centre recently, which shows the number of jobless to be 657,000 at the end of June, a rate of 12.6 percent. The Labour Centre figures also show a drop, having registered 677,000 unemployed at the end of May.

Differences between the two organizations' reports probably occurred because the CSO has calculated the figures after conducting a poll, while the Labour Centre has added up the numbers of jobless registered and reported by local municipalities.

According to the CSO report, unemployment dropped mainly among those in the age bracket of 25-54. Along with falling unemployment, the number of those employed in agriculture, construction and the servicing sector has grown, probably due to the seasonal character of these spheres. The number of those employed by the processing industry, however, has continued to decrease.

The average period of unemployment has grown from 37 weeks in the first quarter of the year to 42 weeks in the second quarter. The proportion of those unemployed for over a year has increased from 27 percent to 32 percent. In the second quarter of last year, the average period of unemployment was 32 weeks, and the proportion of those out of work for over a year was 17 percent.

Government Sets Target of Five Percent Growth in 1994*LD2307171493 Warsaw PAP in English 1551 GMT
23 Jul 93*

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—The cabinet, who met at an extraordinary session on Friday to discuss a draft document outlining the assumptions for the 1994 socioeconomic policy, said that the government plans to achieve a moderate economic growth at a level of 5 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP).

Earlier in the day, the cabinet had adopted the document, worked out by the central office of planning (CUP) in cooperation with the Finance Ministry which have reached an agreement on the key policy.

Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Gorzyszewski told a press conference following the session that the adopted assumptions are the starting point of the work on the 1994 budget. "The budget has to be drawn up in such a way that its deficit does not exceed 5 per cent of the gross national product, and the growth of real wages in the budget-financed sector does not go over 1.5 per cent as compared with the 1993 level."

He stressed that the government will be closely monitoring the development of economic processes and will revise the budget if there are signs which will make it possible to implement a "bold" option of a 7 per cent growth of GDP.

Analysts Expect Economic Growth In 1993*WS2607115693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
23 Jul 93 p 1*

[Report by P.A.: "Analysts Predict Four Percent Growth in 1993; The Economy Is Overcoming Recession"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the Polish economy is overcoming the recession. According to the estimates of the Institute of Statistical-Economic Research of the GUS [Central Office of Statistics] and PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], which were made available to RZECZPOSPOLITA on 22 July, in the first six months of this year the national product was 3.9 percent higher than in the same period last year. This was made possible first of all due to a seven or eight percent growth in industry, construction, and domestic trade.

A team headed by Professor Leszek Zienkowski predicts that the year 1993 will end in a four percent growth of the gross national product. According to the team's forecasts, in industry, construction, and domestic trade, the value added will increase by six-and-a-half to seven percent.

Additional analyses show that if we take into account the so-called gray area in economy, we can count on five percent growth in the GNP in 1993. Then the GNP level, along with that produced in the concealed economy, would be only three to four percent smaller than in 1989.

The expected decrease in the national product in agriculture in 1993 results from the fact that animal production is

expected to drop by approximately 12 percent in comparison with 1992. Plant production will be from eight to 10 percent higher than last year.

In comparison with the same period last year, the first six months of this year saw a five-percent drop in transport services; however, during the remainder of the year the drop will be offset, due to a boom in other branches of industry.

In the analytical part, the authors draw attention to the fact that the foreign trade balance is worse due to the following factors: last year's bad crops, higher expenditure on fodder imports, and probably smaller export of Polish agricultural products, which was caused by raising the prices of those products on the domestic market and by the restrictions imposed by the EEC. They believe, therefore, that there should not be a rapid and substantial devaluation of the Polish zloty, because after the harvest the situation will change. A corrective devaluation seems indispensable; however, its scale should be much smaller than proposed by exporters.

The growth in consumer prices, compared to the first six months of 1992, amounted to 37.4 percent (including the prices of food, which increased by 39.2 percent). The authors expect further increase of food prices, which is related to a smaller supply of animal production and higher meat prices.

Government Anti-Unemployment Program Viewed*PM2607094293 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish
15 Jul 93 p 3*

[Article by Beata Kostrzewska: "Three Million Unemployed?"]

[Text] Our unemployment rate of more than 14 percent places us third in Europe, after Ireland and Spain. Apart from the unemployed, we also have more than 8.5 million pensioners and in excess of 5 million people with no permanent employment. In addition, it is difficult to estimate the number of people employed in enterprises which should go bankrupt, but which are still kept alive by state subsidies for reasons of social expediency. The number of people who work to produce the national income in Poland is gradually decreasing, while the number of those who participate in its distribution is steadily increasing.

Statistics indicate that the unemployed in Poland are mostly young (62.9 percent of the unemployed are below the age of 35) and relatively well educated (70 percent have graduated from post-primary schools; there are more unemployed who have completed vocational training courses than those whose education stopped at the primary school level).

According to the most cautious government forecasts, this year unemployment in Poland will exceed the "barrier figure" of 3 million. Unfortunately, the Labor Fund has only 36 trillion zlotys [Z] at its disposal. Of this sum, 227 trillion will be used for unemployment benefits and

national insurance payments. In addition, the Labor Ministry will allocate Z5.5 trillion to "active forms of combating unemployment." And that, according to Labor Minister Jacek Kuron, is the most the government can put aside "for fighting unemployment."

In June Hanna Suchocka's government announced a program for combating unemployment, but entrusted this task exclusively to the labor and social policy minister and to local employment centers, although it is common knowledge that not even a combination of more efficient employment services (on which the government program focuses its attention almost exclusively) and more generous funds for the development of active forms of new labor market programs (such as emergency work, public works, training for the unemployed, loan schemes, and so on) can possibly reduce the extent of unemployment, much less solve the problem at its source. The ineffectiveness of the government policy is the result of the illusory idea that in this way we can somehow counterbalance the generalized destruction of jobs following from the labor and employment policy pursued by the majority of our ministries.

Unfortunately, all Polish governments to date have pursued policies dominated by a peculiar division of responsibility: It is the labor minister who is held accountable for the effects on unemployment of restructuring, enterprise liquidation, and other reform programs, rather than the actual authors of these programs. In this way many programs of enterprise liquidation, restructuring, and privatization are approved without first checking whether they contain answers to the question of the employees' future reemployment. Furthermore, to date no full economic cost-effectiveness calculation has been carried out on the price of restructuring and enterprise liquidation. Nor is any parallel cost-effectiveness calculation—including the calculation of the costs of social welfare protection for the resulting unemployed—being carried out for whole sectors of the economy. This is because the prevailing attitude is to assume that these questions are the responsibility of the labor minister.

In the light of the above concerns, it would surely be advisable first of all to answer the question whether any unemployment-combating policies should be restricted to the actions of one particular ministry, even if that ministry has sufficient financial resources to cope with the demands. The experience of other countries which allocate huge resources to finance a range of labor market programs designed to combat unemployment indicates that such programs are of great significance, but also that their ability to reduce the actual level of unemployment is limited. The different nature of our own unemployment situation consists also in the fact that, compared with other European countries, we have very little financial means which we can allocate to finance unemployment-combating programs. For example, while the average annual allocation per one person unemployed was \$9,000 in Europe, in Poland it only came up to about \$770 in 1991, and only \$700 in 1992. No more than seven percent of this sum is used to implement active forms of combating

unemployment. This is an extremely low proportion. In the West, active forms of labor market programs are extended on average to some 30 percent of unemployed, while 20 percent are offered training and retraining programs.

In Poland, on the other hand, only some 74,000 unemployed persons, that is, three to four percent of all registered unemployed, were given similar courses in 1991. Furthermore, in the first half of the year the training and retraining programs were very considerably curtailed because of budget cuts, and it was not until the fourth quarter that a more dynamic approach to the whole enterprise was noted on the part of the organizing bodies. By the end of last year 59,000 people were employed in emergency works and a further 32,000 were being trained. Altogether, some 118,000 people, that is, nearly five percent of the unemployed, took advantage of these programs. Thus, marked progress could be seen in comparison with the first half of 1992. This year, expenditure earmarked for the active forms of combating unemployment is expected to rise to 10.3 percent of the total sum to be spent on unemployment by the Labor Fund. Again, we can expect further progress in this field. Consequently, the government rightly considers these programs to be very important as unemployment-combating strategies, but we must remember that they continue to include only a very small proportion of the unemployed, and this trend is likely to continue in the future.

During a conference on the labor market in the Lodz "macroregion," which was convened in late July in Dobieszkowo, much was said about the need to approach the problem of unemployment from new angles, taking into account two main aspects of unemployment-combating strategies: creation of active intervention programs in the labor market and effective macroeconomic policy geared to combating unemployment at source.

According to opinions voiced by conference delegates, it is necessary to maximize resources to finance active programs of labor market enhancement so that favorable conditions can be created for the introduction of training programs and public works programs on a more extensive scale. Local employment centers must work more effectively, but the main requirement is that all unemployment-combating programs should constitute integral elements of our socioeconomic policy and be compatible with the programs of overcoming recession. This is because the most effective method of fighting unemployment is to increase productive employment (or at least to arrest its decline). To achieve this aim, in turn, we need to develop an active program of getting rid of the actual sources of unemployment, which are "embedded" in the general profound economic recession. According to researchers investigating this problem, there are five fundamental spheres of operation which are essential for the success of the unemployment-combating strategy: application of the existing production potential for the manufacture of goods accepted by the market, stimulation of investment, an optimal policy for foreign economic cooperation, creation

of a large-scale housing construction program, and stimulation of the development of small businesses.

A closer analysis of the scope of these recommended solutions indicates, however, that it will not be possible to wage a successful war against unemployment without according it a higher rank in the state sociopolitical policy at the level of sectors of the economy and national regions. The whole question of combating unemployment requires a concerted operation—undertaken at a wider and deeper level—in the Sejm forum, and also in the activities of the Council of Ministers as well as voivodship and local authorities.

First Six Months of Privatization Assessed

WS2607080393 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Jul 93 p 5

[Report by Ada Kostrz Kostecka: "First Six Months of Privatization; It Is Hard To Begin, Still Harder To End"]

[Text] Important transactions on the sale of large companies occur increasingly seldom. The Ministry of Ownership Transformations has, therefore, started seeking solutions which would enable Polish investors, who do not have a large amount of capital at their disposal, to take over companies as their owners.

Hence the idea of a hire-purchase system, the details of which the ministry is still working on. It is going to announce auctions by tender, perhaps even by September. Even though the form of the sale is not new at all, there will be a novelty: buyers will be allowed to purchase large packets of stocks. This measure is taken in the case of the so-called privatization express, when a given enterprise is liquidated before it is sold. The possibility of spreading the payments out in installments also arises in the case of selling packets of stocks or shares to groups of managers. The participation of manager groups as one of the parties in signing a contract pertaining to the sale of a company, is also a relatively new thing. In the past, a manager group in a company also obtained the right to buy stocks at preferential prices; the same was true of the company's employees. Recently it has become common practice that the position of managers is favored, and so is the form of selling the stock packets to them, as a form of appreciating their expertise. This is, for example, the pattern followed with the sale of the Energoaparatura S.A.

This transaction also included a financial investor, which is not yet common practice in Poland; the investor supplies the money, but he is not an expert in "the field." Polish banks are also beginning to join the privatization process: they become the financial investors (e.g. the sale of the Clothes Factory "Bytom"). Big Polish investors, first of all institutions, are increasingly numerous. These are often companies that are being privatized, such as the Mostostal-Export S.A.

Apart from all these positive changes, what negatively affected the privatization process was the fact that a few legal acts, which were almost prepared, had not been

passed. This was one of the reasons for curbing the rate of some preliminary privatization processes.

At the same time, another negative phenomenon has deepened: the duration of liquidation processes is increasingly longer. Liquidation processes, especially the ones conducted on the basis of Article 19 of the Law on State Companies, last, on average, up to two years. The supply of companies' assets is greater than the demand; the ownership laws cannot be put in order, because there is no law on reprivatization. There are not enough executive regulations, and some legal acts contradict each other. As a result, liquidators cannot get rid of the companies' property or pay off their debts. An increasing number of liquidation processes end in bankruptcy, that is, a court of law and a bankruptcy trustee start handling the case. According to the information of the Ministry of Ownership Transformations [MPW], bankruptcy processes have already begun in as many as 450 enterprises. An overwhelming majority of those processes are the result of unsuccessful liquidations, conducted on the basis of Article 19 on state companies. However, there are also bankruptcy processes in companies which were being liquidated on the basis of Article 37 of the Privatization Law; that is, economically sound companies, which had their own privatization concepts at the moment they started their transformations. In addition, companies of the State Treasury are going bankrupt; they are waiting for privatization. At the end of the first quarter of this year, economic courts of law announced the bankruptcy of over 300 state companies; in comparison with the number of liquidation processes started on the basis of the Law on State Companies, it is clear that nearly one-third of those processes end in bankruptcy.

According to the MPW, 501 enterprises were transformed: 319 in individual privatization, and 182 in general privatization. So far 77 companies of the State Treasury have been privatized (the limit was at least 51 percent of the stocks which previously belonged to the State Treasury).

On the basis of Article 37 of the Privatization Law, the minister of ownership transformations agreed that 797 enterprises be privatized. By the end of June, 575 of them were crossed off the register of state companies. In the enterprises that are privatized in this manner, 651 employee-owned companies have been or will be established.

On the basis of Article 19 of the Law on State Companies, the minister of ownership transformations did not object to 967 liquidation applications that were submitted. The liquidation processes were completed merely in 123 enterprises.

Socialists Agree on Election Alliance with SLD

LD2507175693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] Phase Two of the 26th Polish Socialist Party [PPS] Congress has ended in Warsaw. The congress resolved that the party would join in an election alliance with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. The delegates reelected

Piotr Ikonowicz as chairman. The congress also preliminarily elected PPS candidates for the SLD tickets, as well several comrades who will run on Labour Union and Polish Peasant Party [PSL] tickets.

The political dispute between the Supreme Council and the party was won by the party that is now appointing a new Supreme Council. It is possible that a legal dispute might take place between a small group assembled around activists from the cities of Poznan and Krosno and the rest of the party about the right to the exclusive use of the name Polish Socialist Party. It is not ruled out that the only thing left for the colleagues who have lost the political dispute is to resort to the courts.

Macierewicz Predicts 'Right' Will Enter Elections United

LD2507171093 Warsaw PAP in English 1657 GMT
25 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—Antoni Macierewicz, the leader of the Coalition for the Republic (KDR), told newsmen on Sunday [25 July] that despite the present confusion of discussions, the Polish right will enter the elections united. Allegations on the Peasant Agreement's (PL) withdrawal from the coalition he labelled as a "press fact."

The Coalition for the Republic affiliates the Jan Olszewski's Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) and the Gabriel Janowski's Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Agreement (PSL-PL), among others.

According to Piotr Naimski the fact that PL has separately registered its tickets for the Senate (upper house) may have nothing in common with the problem.

The coalition leaders said that talks with the Centre Alliance (PC) are underway and would surely end in a success.

Commenting on the recently concluded visit paid by the KDR's delegation to the United States, Antoni Macierewicz said that far-reaching convergence of opinions on issues related to geopolitics and economy was recorded in the talks between representatives of the coalition and the republican party.

Antoni Macierewicz and Piotr Naimski say they returned to Poland assured that American business is to become seriously engaged in Poland after substantial changes in the political system are implemented, to include the combatting of unemployment, education, tax law and banking system.

Borusewicz Gives Reason For Quitting BBWR

AU2307124493 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
21 Jul 93 p 1

[Report by Jaroslaw Kurski: "Why I Left The BBWR"]

[Text] We asked Boguslaw Borusewicz, former chairman of the Solidarity parliamentary club, why he quit the BBWR [Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms].

"The BBWR is an amorphous body that includes various people. It is a featureless movement, organized along the lines of the old Citizens Committees. It will not accelerate the establishment of a party system in Poland. Apart from that, its very name has negative historical connotations."

Borusewicz said that he joined the BBWR in order to try and give it a pro-reformist path, but then he realized that that was an impossible task. "I have no intention of fulfilling everything that the Solidarity 'Network' has dreamed up. The people there expect a return to the old times. They think that the larger a workplace, the more important it should be to the authorities, and that it should receive a correspondingly large amount of financial assistance. But a politician has to think about more things than just winning a seat in the Sejm. He has to consider what will happen after the elections, and what the next move in the political game of chess will be."

Borusewicz admits that a major reason for his leaving the BBWR was a conversation with President Walesa. "He gave me a rundown on the prospects for Poland in the coming years, but I will not discuss the contents of semi-private meetings."

In Borusewicz's opinion, it will be extremely difficult to create a new government after the September parliamentary elections. "What sort of government are the Confederation of Independent Poland, the Polish Peasant Party, and the Democratic Left Alliance capable of forming? Each of them will try and slow down the reforms. If a government is formed, a crisis will erupt during the vote on the budget."

Borusewicz thinks the new Sejm will be dissolved in March at the latest, following the budget crisis. He says Walesa will then form a presidential party, and finally show that parliamentarism in Poland has failed. New elections will be held.

"Elections are not always held for the purpose of establishing democracy. Sometimes they are held in order to legitimize undemocratic power. Whatever the case, Olechowski will become prime minister," says Borusewicz. He thinks that might happen soon after the elections because of factionalism inside the new Sejm. "If not, it will definitely happen later. A certain setup will appear that will give the old president a new victory."

Borusewicz is running for the Sejm on the Democratic Union ticket, along with three ex-Solidarity deputies; Jan Rulewski, Wojciech Arkuszewski, and Marek Zielinski, plus ex-Solidarity spokesman Grzegorz Jaczynski.

"I think I have done the right thing by linking myself to the Democratic Union," he says. "One can voice many reservations about this party, but one cannot say it is not democratic."

Germany Allowing Poles to Work in Germany 1 Oct
LD2407211993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program
Network in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Jul 93

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia]

[Excerpt] The Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, after a year's break, has resumed issuing permits to Polish companies wishing to work in Germany. In August last year the German authorities banned Poles from taking any jobs. The main reason was that our country exceeded the employment quota on the territory of the Federal Republic.

As of 1 October this year, 35,170 people will find legal employment in Germany. They will do less-well-paid jobs, as the German authorities have restricted the employment of Poles to construction and insulation work. [passage omitted]

Agreement on Deporting Illegal Romanian Immigrants Signed

LD2407194393 Warsaw PAP in English 1917 GMT
24 Jul 93

[Text] Warsaw, July 24— Poland and Romania signed here Saturday [24 July] an agreement providing for deporting illegal Romanian immigrants from Poland to their home country.

The agreement, signed by the ministers of internal affairs Andrzej Milczanowski and George Ioan Danescu, covers Romanian citizens deported to Poland from Germany under a similar Polish-German accord which came into force July 1.

Last year some 30,000 Romanians illegally crossed from Poland to Germany.

Poland will also have the right to send back illegal Bulgarian immigrants via Romania.

Chief of Staff Favors Revival of Ties With Russia
AU2307130993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0919
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—"The conclusion has been drawn, starting from Romania's firm option to have ties with all states and armies, that the military ties between Romania and the Russian Federation have to be revived," mentions General-Lieutenant Dumitru Cioflina, chief of staff of the Romanian Army in CURIERUL NATIONAL. "The results of the talks we have had so far have been included in a bilateral cooperation agreement between the Ministries of Defense of Romania and the Russian Federation. The agreement is similar with all those on the basis of which we have had ties over the past years. There are certain particular things, which is understandable, as all relations have to be given individual, concrete shape starting from previous relations. We both need ties of a new type, in concord with what is going on in the world at present. Each of us follows its way, function of specific national traits and of its political interests," stated the general.

Dumitru Cioflina mentioned among possible fields of future cooperation the operative training of battle commanders, improvement of training equipment, cooperation in the fields of military technique, military medicine, military history. The parties have agreed to establish a system of permanent information between the leadership of the defense ministries of the two countries, so that decision asked for at critical moments be not influenced by an erroneous perception of reality. The Romanian side has shown particular interest in cooperation in military technique, in resuming supply of parts and materials, to cooperate in production. If the agreement is signed in September, a 1994 defense plan will be drafted, establishing concrete activities, underlined the chief of staff of the Romanian Army.

Foreign Approval Needed for Setting Up NATO Bases

AU2307124693 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 Jul 93 p 8

[Radu Tudor article: "In Order To Have a NATO Base, Romania Needs the Principled Approval of the Russian Federation and of China"]

[Text] Military sources close to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense recently affirmed that the prospect of Romania joining the NATO structures depends to a great extent on the approval of the Russian Federation and of the People's Republic of China.

In this respect, Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu will try to present, in the most realistic possible manner, the wish of the Romanian Army to General Pavel Grachev, the commander of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, and to the Chinese National Defense Ministry.

The establishment of NATO bases on Romania's territory would facilitate, to a great extent, our country's association with the countries that are members of the North Atlantic

Alliance. The European structures will more easily absorb Romania, because of the commercial and military circulation that spreads in the Southeastern European geographic zone.

Melescanu, EEC Official Discuss Embargo Compensation

AU2307172793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1341
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/7/1993—Fluency of traffic on the Danube and a uniform procedure of the embargo monitoring and enforcement were the main subjects of the talks Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu had with the EEC/CSCE Coordinator for Sanctions Ambassador Antonio Napolitano.

The guest agreed that the front line countries, like Romania, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Hungary were most affected by the embargo.

The necessity was expressed of making further demarches with the financial bodies concerned, for the obtainment of compensations by producing concrete documents substantiating the claims.

Meeting on Embargo Reveals 'Neariness of Views'

AU2407135093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1756
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—"The entire exercise is meant to find the means to make the sanctions less harmful for the riparian countries," Marcel Dinu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated at the end of the meeting held in Bucharest over fluency of traffic on the Danube.

Attending were four Danube countries (Romania, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Austria), Hungary having declined the invitation issued by Romania, and the international teams monitoring or supporting the monitoring of the embargo, with the special participation of the United Nations Development Program representatives, interested mainly in the report on damage, initiated at Romania's request.

The discussions revealed a great nearness of views, all the riparian countries encountering the same types of problems, therefore the main aspects tackled were: fluency of traffic, expediency of licence approvals, reduction of inspection time, lifting of inspection on passenger boats, the secretary of state summed up.

Control Procedures for FRY Embargo To Be Set

AU2307164293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1040
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/7/1993—A meeting opened on Friday [23 July] morning at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters aiming to ease traffic on the Danube and set a uniform procedure for control of the observance of the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia.

The meeting is attended by representatives of riparian states in the area—Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine and Austria—except Hungary. Also represented are international bodies involved in the supervising of the embargo: the EC/CSCE sanctions coordinator, ambassador Antonio Napolitano, the observer missions in the riparian states, Hungary included, the 724 Sanctions Committee of the UN Security Council, the Luxembourg presidency of the Western European Union (WEU), together with representatives of the WEU nations (Luxembourg, Italy and Great Britain), the head of the WEU Civil Mission in Romania, Claudio Pistone and the UNDP mission in Romania.

Spiroiu Discusses Participation in NATO Programs

AU2307124293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0903
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—"The Romanian Ministry of Defense takes part in many actions under the aegis of NATO, in programmes approved every year by the North Atlantic Cooperation Council," said Minister of Defense Nicolae Spiroiu at a press conference. "Romanian officers are participating in a training programme in the United States." We have been recently announced that the sum for the said programme has been more than doubled, added General-Lieutenant Spiroiu, who specified that the "officer to officer" programme organized by the command of the U.S. Armed Forces included almost 50 actions.

"Our military reform is aimed to bring the Romanian military body at the standards of democratic, Western armies. All these efforts are intended to make us be prepared for admission to NATO when it opens ranks to new members, and not find out, at that moment that either the training has not been good, or that the structure or the decision-making is not as it should be."

EC Permanent Mission To Open in Bucharest in Sep

AU2307135893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1036
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/7/1993—"I am honoured of the responsibility to open the first permanent mission of the European Community in Bucharest, which shows a start in more tighter and friendly relations between the EC and Romania which I will strive to expand," told to a ROMPRES correspondent in Brussels Mme. Karen Fogg, who is due to arrive to Bucharest in September as head of this "embassy" (permanent delegation).

Referring to the role of the mission, Karen Fogg said: "We will try to progressively ensure a better information and mutual acquaintance between Romania and the European Community, considering that there is a considerable and absolutely logical interest in this sense on both sides. The mission will take part in a more efficient application and by a more direct collaboration with national authorities, of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] European Community Assistance Programme that I thoroughly know and through which I have gathered however more information on Romanian realities. The establishing of a permanent mission in Bucharest

opens new prospects on the road of Romania's participation, alongside other Eastern European states that are associated to the European Community, in other community programmes and in this view I will act to facilitate various contacts—be they functional or of any other nature—with official bodies in Brussels or with various groups, networks, local or national authorities in the EC member countries."

The future ambassador of "the 12" added that the mission "will obviously contribute to the speeding up of relations grown in various fields between the European Community and Romania, to the latter's getting closer to the EC, consistent with the provisions of the association agreement and in the spirit of the decisions adopted at the last European Council in Copenhagen."

Nastase Reportedly May Replace Vacaroiu

AU2307172893 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in
Romanian 20 Jul 93 p 9

["C.H."-signed note: "Will Adrian Nastase Become Prime Minister?"]

[Text] From sources that are up-to-date with the goings-on behind the scenes of the party that does not sell our country but sells our fleet (namely the Social Democracy Party of Romania)—sources that want to remain anonymous—we have learned that Mr. Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies, will introduce a censure motion at the next parliamentary session. The aim of this "destabilizing initiative" is to bring about the fall of the Vacaroiu government, after which he will become the prime minister of a reshuffled cabinet. If this is going to pass, it means that Mr. Nastase's political ambitions are very high. Indeed, Mr. Adrian Nastase only bows before someone who deserves it.

BNR, Finance Ministry Refute Failure of IMF Talks

AU2307173093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/7/1993—"Relative to partial allegations in the press about negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the National Bank of Romania (BNR) and the Ministry of Finance, as direct participants in the meetings with the IMF mission, hereby wish to specify that such information can only distort the truth," a communique conveyed to ROMPRES for release reads.

"Therefore, although the press has given vent to rumours that the negotiations had allegedly failed, we are in the position to state that the negotiations are in progress and that important steps forward have been made in agreeing on the performance criteria Romania is to comply with over the next period. We also hereby inform that the news according to which the confiscation of hard currency from commercial companies is an impending measure meant to cover the payment of outstanding installments of the foreign debt and plainly state that this is out of the question," the Press Bureaus of the BNR and the Finance Ministry inform.

PRM Sues CDR Leader for 'Irresponsible' Slander

AU2407133293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—The leader of the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) Emil Constantinescu has been sued by the Steering Committee of the Greater Romania Party (PRM) for the "irresponsible statements" made to the Romanian and Polish press, PRM President Corneliu Vadim Tudor told the journalists present Friday, 23 July at his party's news conference.

"To accuse of fascism a party like PRM which has repeatedly condemned European fascism and tendencies of reviving it is quite a feat and cannot be expected from anyone but from a political character who is a completely ignorant of history, of diplomacy and of the values of national doctrine," Corneliu Vadim Tudor said in connection with Emil Constantinescu's statements.

IMF Official Praises 'Courageous' Measures

AU2407133693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1634
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—Welcoming the unpopular measures of the Romanian Government, IMF negotiator says, after meeting with Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu, that IMF intends to renew its financial assistance congratulate Mr. Vacaroiu for the extremely courageous measures he and his cabinet have taken over the past few months, mainly for having virtually eliminated subsidies, for having instated the value-added tax and other regulations that will open the way towards economic growth. Mr. Watson admitted he was aware of the hardships these measures had created for the consumer and for the country as a whole, but expressed his belief that the steps the Romanian Government had taken or was about to were based on the correct conviction that at the end of the tunnel there is light and that Romania would soon be capable of a significant economic growth and of an export-oriented production. He was keen on underlining that, despite comments of the press, there were differences of technical opinions, but never differences of views about the fundamental aims of the Romanian economy or about the fundamental aims for heading as soon as possible for the renewal of the IMF's financial support for Romania. Mr. Watson also revealed that the past two days' discussions were centred on two problems: The restructuring of companies and the ways in which the economy should be encouraged towards export, and, secondly, the urgency of having the rate of inflation diminished through firm monetary and budget policies.

The IMF negotiator announced that in ten days' time an IMF commission would arrive in Romania to work with the Romanian Ministry of Finance on the budget policy, and that this cooperation was hoped to lead to extremely constructive conclusions as to how to maintain a solid fiscal policy in your country and drastically reduce inflation.

Soon after that Mr. Watson said it was highly hoped that discussions would be resumed over a new arrangement for IMF assistance to Romania both by a stand-by agreement

and by the use of the new systemic transformation facilities, especially designed for the use of countries facing transitions like the one the Romanian economy is experiencing at the moment, the IMF negotiator said.

PD-FSN Blames Government for IMF Reservations

AU2407174493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519
GMT 24 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/7/1993—A communique issued by the PD-FSN [Democratic Party-National Salvation Front] makes a point of saying that it sees it as its duty to bring to public knowledge the grave situation created by the departure of the International Monetary Fund delegation without having signed the IMF loan agreement with Romania for 1993 and qualifying the "reassuring" press releases of the government and the "optimistic" statements of the presidential spokesman as "one more attempt to mislead the public, in a total disrespect for it." PD-FSN deems that the average citizen is entitled "to being told clearly that it is for the first time since the revolution of December 1989 when a Romanian Government fails to successfully conclude its negotiations with the IMF," which proves of the "lack of credibility of Mr. Vacaroiu's cabinet, of the present decision-makers among foreign financial and political circles."

This exposes Romania, the communique says, to the impossibility of procuring the necessary funds for its winter energy supplies, for raw materials and other vital goods.

The communique urges "all the democratic forces devoted to national interests" to "assume the responsibility for a radical change of the governmental policies, for the economic recovery and the strengthening of the state of law."

Government Decrees Fuel Price Increases

AU2407134893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—The Romanian Government announced on Friday that it was necessary to modify the retail prices of car fuels due to the 30 percent debasement of the leu. The new prices, corresponding to an exchange rate of 800 lei to \$1, are the following: premium gas—250 lei per litre (from 215 lei), regular gas—230 lei per litre (from 200 lei), standard gas—220 lei per litre (from 190 lei), lead free premium gas—260 lei (from 225 lei), diesel fuel—190 lei (from 150 lei). The new prices include the value-added tax of 18 percent.

The new prices shall apply beginning with July 24, 00:00 hours [2100 GMT on 23 July].

Government Exempts Basic Goods, Services From VAT

AU2407135693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851
GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/7/1993—The Romanian Government issued an ordinance Friday, 23 July, ruling that a number of goods and services are exempt from the value added tax (VAT): milk, butter, meat (partly), bread

(partly), edible oil, medicines, solid fuel and electric and thermal power for consumers, in-town public transport.

The executive adopted a resolution instating 75 percent cuts for certain medicines and no charge for others, if prescribed to retirees and unemployed patients.

German Minister Pleased With Ethnic Minority Situation

*AU2407155793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1326
GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/7/1993—"I can say that my visit in Romania has been a positive one," said Secretary of State Helmuth Schaefer, of the German Federal Ministry of External Affairs at the close of his stay in Romania.

The German guest concentrated his attention on the situation of the German ethnic minority in Romania, which he found as having fully benefited from the changes that took place in Romania after the revolution of December 1989 and he is convinced that as the reform makes progress their situation will improve, including the development of German language schools. For projects in fields like education and health the sides have already set up a joint Romanian-German Committee.

Spokesman Hails Hungary's New Law on Ethnic Minorities

*AU2407160593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1403
GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/7/1993—The Central-European Initiative cannot find substance without a country like Romania, which hopes that Hungary's new law on minorities will protect the Romanian ethnic minority, Ambassador Chebeleu said.

While pointing out that the Central-European Initiative (the former Pentagonal) was born "at a time of political confusion after the fall of the Iron Curtain," Presidential spokesman Ambassador Chebeleu said that the recent Budapest declaration of the member countries "reveals an

identity crisis, which made most of its member-states pronounce against its being institutionalized as such."

Commenting Hungary's foreign minister's statement spelling his country's refusal to accept Romania's participation in this organization, Mr. Chebeleu said: "The Central-European Initiative cannot become something viable and significant for Central Europe in the absence of a country of the size, potential and geo-political position Romania has."

On the other hand, the spokesman welcomed the ratification of the new minority law in Hungary and expressed his hope that this long awaited law would offer protection to the Romanian ethnic minority and help it preserve its identity all the more so as along the centuries Hungary excelled in its policy of forced denationalisation of ethnic minorities, of Romanians in particular.

Army Denies Talks on Establishment of NATO Bases

*AU2507204193 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in
Romanian 20 Jul 93 p 9*

[Army Press Bureau note: "No Discussions Were Held Regarding the Establishment of NATO Bases in Romania"]

[Text] The Press Bureau of the Army made the following statement in connection with the exchange of military delegations visits: These visits are part of a previously approved foreign relations program and take place in an ordinary fashion, in accordance with agreements. These visits are planned and in no way are they the result of arrangements brought about by special circumstances. When the Romanian military delegation and military delegations of other states have held talks in Bucharest or abroad, no discussions have been held regarding the establishment of NATO bases in Romania. In fact, Romania's Army is not authorized to decide on this issue, the option of negotiations and decisions in this respect belongs to the appropriate state institutions: Romania's Presidency, parliament, and government, which in fulfilling their sovereign duties, do not ask for the approval of other states and even less the approval of other armies.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 26 July
WA2607190593

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Bosnian President Izetbegovic agrees to attend peace talks in Geneva; negotiations to begin on 25 July ... Bosnian Prime Minister questions legitimacy of Izetbegovic, Bosnian Army chief Delic ... French UNPROFOR headquarters attacked, Serbs deny responsibility ... Continued fighting reported in Sarajevo, central Bosnia despite cease-fire agreements.

DIPLOMATIC

IZETBEGOVIC AGREES TO ATTEND TALKS (Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG): Bosnian President Izetbegovic agrees to attend peace talks in Geneva, which are scheduled to begin on 27 July, says he is "firmly resolved" to end war. Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says he is attending the talks "with reluctance" because of deployment of NATO aircraft in Italy. Karadzic urges establishment of "open city" in Sarajevo, asserts "lifting of sanctions" on FRY will be a "priority item" at the talks. (AU2607110893, LD2507182493)

POLITICAL

AKMADZIC QUESTIONS IZETBEGOVIC, DELIC ROLES (TANJUG): Bosnian Prime Minister Akmadzic, a Croat, questions legitimacy of Izetbegovic's presidency, Bosnian Army chief Delic's seat on main governing body. Akmadzic says Bosnian Croats "do not trust" Izetbegovic, whose presidential mandate formally expired on 20 December 1992, denounces presence of military representative on Presidency. (LD2507143293)

MILITARY

FRENCH BASE ATTACKED IN SARAJEVO (Paris TV, TANJUG): French UNPROFOR base in Sarajevo comes under artillery fire; UNPROFOR Commander Briquemont contends attack came from direction of Serbian positions in Poljine. Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic calls attack "a naive frame-up" by Muslim forces aimed at "sabotaging" peace talks. (LD2507192793, LD2607101093, LD2507230193)

CEASE-FIRE RESOLUTIONS REPORTED IN SARAJEVO (Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG): Sarajevo Radio reports Bosnian Serb forces "incessantly" shelling Bosnian Army positions, while Bosnian Serb commander Mladic says cease-fire being observed by Serbs, "but not by Muslims." (LD2507151893, LD2507183693)

CROAT-MUSLIM FIGHTING CONTINUES DESPITE CEASE-FIRE: Zagreb Radio reports Muslim forces capture "entire town" of Bugojno, shelling Novi Travnik despite cease-fire ordered by Muslim, Croat forces in central Bosnia. Sarajevo Radio says "monstrous ethnic cleansing" of Muslims by Croatian forces "completed" in area around Mostar. (LD2407212793, LD2607110893)

Izetbegovic 'Resolved' To Find Solution in Geneva*AU2607110893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 93*

[Text] We are leaving for Geneva with hope and apprehension, but firmly resolved to find a way out of this circle of killing and suffering. If there is such a way out at all, (?this team) is going to find it, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said in a statement for B-H PRESS, which he made prior to his departure for Geneva, and went on to say the following:

We are going to strive for a free and democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina. I hope that nobody will criticize me if I say that the Muslim people will be an object of my special concern at these negotiations, because I belong to that people, because [word indistinct] remains to be a special target of this aggression, and because it has suffered the most. [words indistinct] I have two aims: the state and the people. This is what I am going to try to defend.

I shall use this opportunity to send greetings to the fighters throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, those on the fronts of Brcko, [name indistinct], Mostar, Zuc, and Maglaj, those from the 17th Krajina [Brigade] and from the (?Seventh) Muslim Brigade. They all equally deserve our people's admiration.

We proclaimed [word indistinct] truce yesterday. I call on our soldiers to comply with this order as far as is possible. However, if the enemy continues attacking, they must defend the state and people, because this is a struggle for survival. This is what Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said in his statement for B-H PRESS today.

States Intention To Negotiate*AU2607105493 Paris AFP in English 0958 GMT 26 Jul 93*

[Text] Zagreb, July 26 (AFP)—President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia-Herzegovina arrived in the Croatian capital Zagreb on Monday [26 July] and confirmed he would attend peace talks due to resume in Geneva on Tuesday.

"We are going to negotiate," he commented after arriving on a U.N. plane en route for Geneva along with several other members of the Bosnian collective Presidency.

The peace talks, originally scheduled for last Friday, were postponed at Izetbegovic's request after Serb forces launched a violent attack on the capital Sarajevo.

To Present Proposal*LD2507153593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 93*

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation for the negotiations on the future state setup will leave Sarajevo for Geneva tomorrow, the HINA news agency reports from Sarajevo. All Presidency members will attend the talks, while the direct negotiations will be conducted by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, Presidency member Miro Lasic, and Bosnia-Herzegovina

Assembly Chairman Miro Lazovic. Several representatives of parties in parliament will also be leaving for Geneva in the capacity of advisers.

The Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which adopted a document envisaging Bosnia-Herzegovina as a composite federal state with constituent federal units at its session in Zagreb recently, will present this proposal in Geneva in the role of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation.

Presidency Member on Focal Points*LD2507163993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 93*

[Text] On the occasion of his departure for the Geneva talks, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Member Miro Lasic gave an exclusive statement to HINA [Croatian news agency], stressing that the focal points of the talks will include defining the state, determining the number of constituent federal units, and examining maps.

As far as the state set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina which suits it most at present is concerned, Miro Lasic believes that any model that would deprive the Muslims, Croats, or Serbs of their national rights cannot be accepted as a solution.

I believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina could survive as a tripartite state with federal units which could be called communities, countries, republics, or states, and which would be represented on an equal footing in the central organ of authority of a composite, federal state. A decisive factor could perhaps be a confederal formula which would not jeopardize the sovereignty, independence, and state and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but would guarantee self-rule to every nation, Lasic pointed out. According to such a formula, no single one of the constituent nations would assume responsibility for the implementation of international agreements or important internal directives.

This, in short, outlines the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency's document, that is, the Serb-Croat proposal on the confederal set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If goodwill is shown, negotiations conducted, and agreements reached, we might be able to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as an intact state community, Miro Lasic said.

Asked what the priority task is at present, Miro Lasic replied that the first thing to be done is to silence all weapons.

Talks To Resume 27 July*LD2307211593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Jul 93*

[Excerpts] At its session today, which was chaired by Alija Izetbegovic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency proposed to the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, that the talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina should resume in Geneva on Tuesday, 27 July, hoping that by that time gas and electricity supplies

for Sarajevo will be improved and that humanitarian aid convoys will be allowed to reach their destinations. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency today also decided to transfer Mustafa Hajrulahovic-Talijan, until now the commander of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, to the general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces.

Karadzic Doubts Viability of Summit

LD2307165693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—President of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic has sent a letter to cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord Owen. In it he expresses his doubts about the viability of their suggestion that a summit on the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be held on Sunday in Geneva.

"I ask myself whether a meeting in Geneva being held at this moment can possibly be termed as negotiations," Radovan Karadzic stresses in his letter dispatched to TANJUG.

"Alija Izetbegovic has no intention whatsoever of reaching an agreement that would be acceptable to the Croats and Serbs. Whatever he agrees to in Geneva will be instantly dismissed in Sarajevo... He and his colleagues are evidently in conflict over crucial political issues. Some of them even go as far as to question the justifiability of their own anti-Serbian orientation over the past two years, the war and everything else," the president of the Srpska republic says. Radovan Karadzic notes by comparison "that the Croats have radically altered their position in the triangle of powers since the last meeting."

"In the light of the above-mentioned facts I ask myself whether a Geneva meeting in the form of summit is premature and, from the point of view of your own goals, counterproductive. First, such a meeting would inevitably encourage increased military activity on every side and result in everyone's war against everyone as everyone would attempt to influence the negotiations. Second, the inevitable failure of this meeting, given that Izetbegovic has already ruled out the possibility of accepting the key negotiating premise of the Christian forces—this premise is the backbone of the current Vance-Owen process—will result in excessive widening and will devalue our Geneva summits," Radovan Karadzic writes.

In his conclusion the president of the Srpska republic stresses that "a well-prepared summit held in mid-autumn once all the sides have definitely articulated their stands could really leave the world surprised at the greatness of its achievements. Is there any point then in attending a pseudo-summit. Are we not going to damage the very process we want to set in motion and support?"

French UN Base Attacked by Serbs in Sarajevo

LD2507192793 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] [Announcer Bruno Masure] The halt in offensive operations negotiated by General Briquemont appears to be particularly precarious. Be it symbolic or an accident, several hours before the implementation of yet another cease-fire, as you can see [news announcer now speaking over video of burning APCs], a UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] base was shelled. About 70 shells landed on this camp that French blue helmets were in the process of setting up in Sarajevo. Several vehicles caught fire. The damage caused was quite spectacular, but only one person was slightly wounded. We can now speak to Laurent Boussie live from Sarajevo. Laurent, apparently nothing has changed in Bosnia, despite this agreement on an end to offensive operations. In your opinion, is the shelling of this French UN camp a mistake or a provocation?

[Boussie] Well, you know, this is clearly a provocation. You saw these images; motionless white vehicles in a parking area cannot be confused with anything else. This is a provocation, but it is also a sign that there are people who are not interested in peace. There are people who want the war to continue. What should be noted is that this attack comes within the framework of the UN soldiers' rules of engagement, which means that normally they can retaliate, and that they can, possibly, go and destroy, at some time or other, the arms that attacked them. At this very moment in the town, in Sarajevo, there is a meeting between General Briquemont whom you know is commanding all the UN forces in Bosnia, and high-ranking UN military officials in Sarajevo. The action to be taken following this attack should be decided on during this meeting.

[Masure] Are the UN officials not to a certain extent discouraged to see this truce, in inverted commas, broken only a few hours after coming into effect?

[Boussie] There has not been a truce or cease-fire. There has been shelling all day today here in Sarajevo. It is true that there was slightly less than in previous days, but there has been shelling. About half an hour ago three shells fell 50 meters from here, the television building, just behind me. I repeat, there are people who do not want peace. There are people who want the war. There are people who want the siege of Sarajevo because they make money for political reasons [as heard]. This is on both the Serb and Bosnian sides. There are also people with goodwill, but they are not really being heard at the moment.

Karadzic Claims Muslim 'Frame-Up'

LD2607101093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0936 GMT 26 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 26 (TANJUG)—The president of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS), Radovan Karadzic, on Sunday evening warned that first findings of the Serb investigation undoubtedly show that the bombing of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] base near the

Zetra sports center in Sarajevo was a naive frame-up by Moslem forces aimed at sabotaging the Geneva negotiations and provoking military intervention.

In a letter to the U.N. secretary general, Butrus Butrus-Ghali, which was carried by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Karadzic recalled that Serb have not as yet caused any incident towards the UNPROFOR and raised the question of why the Serb forces would do such a thing now when they are threatened with military intervention.

A number of mortar shells were fired on Sunday at the Zetra sports center where the French UNPROFOR members are stationed and the Moslem side immediately lodged a protest with the UNPROFOR accusing the Serb side of the attack.

In his letter to Butrus-Ghali, the president of the RS demanded an international expertise of the incident and a public announcing of the findings in order to avoid tragic consequences.

The chief of staff of the Bosnian Serb army, Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, on Sunday evening as well denied claims that Serb forces had opened fire at the UNPROFOR base in Zetra and said that according to reports by Serb observers 20 missiles were fired from Moslem positions in the region of Bistrik at Zetra.

In his letter to the UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Francis Briquemont, Gen. Milovanovic warned that "Moslem forces had caused the incident in order to accuse the Serbs as on numerous occasions so far on the eve of important gatherings and meetings and bring further negotiations and the entire peace process into question."

A new round of peace talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina is to open on Tuesday in Geneva, at which a peaceful solution to the 16-month-old civil and religious war between local Moslems, Croats and Serbs in this former Yugoslav Republic is expected to be finally reached.

Serb Commander Denies Responsibility

LD2507230193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2151 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Major General Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of staff of the Srpska army, sent a letter to General Briquemont, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, denying the claim that Serb forces opened fire on the vehicles of the French UN troops in the Zetra area in Sarajevo, and adding that he was certain that Muslim forces were responsible for the incident.

In his letter to General Briquemont, also forwarded to TANJUG, General Milovanovic said:

"You claim in your letter that fire was opened from our positions in the Poljine area. I urgently demanded a report from my subordinate commands on all activities in the Sarajevo area. I was informed that no fire had been opened from the Poljine area. At the same time I received a report from my subordinate commands that, at the time the

mentioned incident took place, our observers on Trebevic hill registered an artillery attack from the Bistrik area towards Zetra and Kosevo stadium. About 20 shells were fired.

On the basis of this I resolutely reject the claim that our forces were responsible for the incident. I am convinced that Muslim forces from the positions in Bistrik caused the incident in order to accuse the Serbs of it, as they had done on innumerable occasions prior to important meetings and talks. In this way they wanted to undermine the forthcoming talks and the entire peace process. However, it is disturbing that, in order to obstruct the crucial Geneva talks, this time they chose UNPROFOR forces as their target. It is obvious that their intention was to embroil the UN peace-keeping forces in the bloody Bosnian drama in order to internationalize the Bosnian conflict as soon as possible," the letter stresses.

"I repeat my assurances that we remain committed to the peace process and that we are ready to fully cooperate with the peace-keeping forces. We truly have no reason to obstruct the realization of your mission in any way whatsoever," General Milovanovic pointed out, informing General Briquemont that he again issued orders to his subordinate commands yesterday to respect the mandate of the peace-keeping forces and that they must not to threaten or hamper their activities in any way.

UNPROFOR To Respond to Future Attacks

AU2607091993 Paris AFP in English 0844 GMT 26 Jul 93

[Text] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—The U.N. commander for Bosnia, Belgian General Francis Briquemont, said Monday [26 July] that a Serb attack on the peace forces' base in Sarajevo was "totally unacceptable" and that he had ordered all his commanders to respond immediately in case of another such incident.

The general said the base came under direct fire Sunday from Serb tanks deployed north of the Zetra Olympic stadium where a French engineers battalion is stationed.

In a letter General Briquemont has received from the chief-of-staff of the Bosnian Serb army besieging Sarajevo, the mainly Moslem Bosnian Government Army was accused of provoking Sunday's shelling of the U.N. base.

But Briquemont said it was impossible for the Bosnians to fire at the base.

Bosnian Serbs Open Fire on UN Helicopter

LD2407093693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 24 Jul 93

[Text] This morning at 0850 chetnik forces opened concentrated anti-aircraft machine-gun and gun fire from the location of [name indistinct] at two UN helicopters overflying the Breza and Ilijas theater of war. Both helicopters had to make an emergency landing at the airfield of Visoko, as one of them was hit. We hope to receive a more detailed report on this incident from our colleagues from

Visoko. This is merely yet another piece of evidence that the chetniks violate every UN resolution.

Izetbegovic Assails UN Failure to Implement Resolutions

LD2507225093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has sent a letter to the UN Security Council and the UN secretary general in which the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina assesses that the activities of the Security Council and the UN secretary general regarding the establishment of safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina in line with resolutions 819, 824, and 836, were performed slothfully, inconsistently, and reluctantly, with the result that almost nothing was achieved in the field [words indistinct].

According to article two of resolution 819, Bosnian Serb paramilitary units should have withdrawn from the Srebrenica area, but what really happened was that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina was demilitarized. As prescribed by article four, it was the secretary general's duty to immediately take measures aimed at increasing the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] presence in Srebrenica and its vicinity, as well as to collaborate with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in order to expand humanitarian operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in Srebrenica and its vicinity, which is contained in article nine, but this was only partially realized. This also applies to Zepa.

The aggressor is systematically obstructing the implementation of resolution 824 on the establishment of safe havens. Despite the fact that this was made known to the Security Council and the secretary general on the basis of a report submitted by UNPROFOR, nothing is being done, although article seven expresses readiness to take measures aimed at implementing the resolution in case it is not respected. This enables the aggressor to go on unhindered with his armed attacks on Sarajevo, Gorazde, Tuzla, and other regions, to avoid pulling out his forces, especially heavy artillery, and to obstruct the delivery of basic supplies—food, medicines, water, and electricity—to the population.

Since 8 May, when resolution 824 was passed, 398 persons have been killed and 2,600 wounded in Sarajevo. At the negotiations at Sarajevo airport, the aggressor side is trying to twist the essence of the concept of safe havens based on resolutions 824 and 836 [words indistinct]. We demand that the UN Security Council pass a decision on new and more resolute measures [words indistinct] and establish mechanisms for their efficient implementation [words indistinct] Alija Izetbegovic stressed in his letter.

Akmadzic on Lack of Trust in Izetbegovic

LD2507143293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1401 GMT 25 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zagreb, July 25 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the pro-Moslem Government and member of the pro-Moslem Presidency of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Mile Akmadzic, a Croat, has said that Bosnian Croats do not trust Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Akmadzic said in an interview to the Zagreb daily VECERNJE LIST that the mandate of Izetbegovic, who is the president of the pro-Moslem Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, formally expired on December 20 last year and that the renewal of his mandate was never put on the agenda of that body.

Akmadzic said that Bosnian Croat representatives had also raised the question why the Chief-of-General-Staff of the Moslem Army Rasim Delic was on the Presidency and said that they did not recognize this. "Under the conditions when each side is fighting the other two, there should not be anyone from the armed forces on this body." It is better that it remain a "civilian organ of authority," the Bosnian Croat representative said.

A civil war has been raging in Bosnia-Herzegovina for 16 months between its three constitutive peoples—Moslems, (Orthodox) Serbs and (Catholic) Croats, which was provoked by Izetbegovic's insistence on a unitary state in which his people would be dominant. Moslems and Croats were at first allies against the Serbs, but began to clash early this year over power in territories with mixed populations.

Croats, not agreeing to a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina, like the Serbs, have proclaimed their own state community in the territories which they control. Recently, Croats and Serbs proposed that Bosnia-Herzegovina be organized as a confederation of three national republics—Moslem, Serb and Croat.

Currently "the biggest problem (in Bosnia-Herzegovina) is the conflict between the Moslem and Croat peoples" and it was provoked by the policy of how to organize the country, Akmadzic said.

Akmadzic believes that the Moslem leadership "has realized that Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be a unitary state in which Moslems (44 percent) would be dominant, which is what the Croat people fear, and I believe also the Serb people," he said.

Akmadzic said that he knew as a fact that "large sums of money are arriving from abroad" through Izetbegovic's Moslem Party of Democratic Action, which he said "finances numerous activities."

At a later stage, "when we have regular power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, we shall not recognize any foreign debts in which representatives of all three peoples did not take part equally," Akmadzic warned.

Karadzic Letter To Owen, Stoltenberg

LD2507182493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, today sent a

letter to cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

"Being aware that there is no alternative to a jointly agreed upon political solution, that to a maximum degree provides equilibrium for all legitimate ethnic and religious aspirations, we would like to put forward certain palliative measures that could be taken in the period of only a few days, provided that all sides show good will," Karadzic says in a letter that has also been forwarded to TANJUG.

"As you have requested, we are hereby giving irrevocable guarantees that we shall do everything within our power to ensure the unhindered supplying of Sarajevo with food, water, electricity, and gas. We are offering to make Sarajevo in effect an open city if the Muslims agree to do the same," Karadzic says adding:

"As far as enclaves in eastern Bosnia are concerned, we are ready to refrain from all attacks on them provided that the Armed Forces within them are disarmed. If they temporarily recognize our broader sovereignty, we shall gladly recognize their internal sovereignty.

"You must realize that our objective is not to gain more territory but to ensure its security and an unhindered access to the territory that ought to be under the control of those living in it."

The president of the Srpska republic stresses that "such an approach in connection with enclaves in eastern Bosnia may represent a precedent for the postwar coexistence within republics and between them, with open borders, even before the fighting stops entirely.

However, this can only happen when Alija Izetbegovic and his partners understand that neither we nor the Croats will accept any kind of unitary Bosnia, whatever name we give it, and that therefore we have to come to a tripartite solution through negotiations—both in general terms and regarding details."

Karadzic then said that "after hesitating for some time, I decided to attend the Geneva talks" and went on to explain the reasons for his reluctance. The first reason, but not the main one, was his conviction that it would not be realistic to expect any political resolution "until the Muslim leadership accepts the Christian majority's consensus on the confederation as the basis for the negotiations."

"The second and key reason for my reluctance was my concern over the fact that NATO forces, acting as UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], while in fact subordinating themselves to the political and operative control of their governments, could launch an armed attack on my country," Karadzic continued.

Recalling that NATO aircraft have recently been deployed in Italy, the president of the Srpska republic pointed out: "In case it is concluded, on whatever grounds, that UNPROFOR's members are threatened while protecting the 'safe havens'—a term that cannot be found either in the Geneva Conventions or international laws—the most up-to-date weapons for mass extermination could be used

against us with no restraints, something your excellencies underlined in the letter of 23 July."

"As the elected leader of my people, I must be present and share the burden of danger with them, as well as lead the resistance against such attacks in conformity with our traditions. We Serbs have been defying threats throughout history. If we have to pay a certain price, we shall. This is the only way we can remain true to ourselves and our ancestors," the president of the Srpska republic added.

"However, I believe that the proposed negotiations should be given a chance, therefore I will take part in them. Considering that you had publicly expressed the desire for the negotiations to go on until a final settlement is reached, I hope I may take the liberty of assuming that the issue of lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia will be a priority item on the agenda, if substantial progress is made at the talks. Since the sanctions were closely linked to Serbia's alleged aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while you are now explicitly admitting that this conflict is in fact a struggle for succession between the autochthonous ethnic communities in Bosnia, the moment a solution is found the basic reason for the imposition of the sanctions will vanish," Radovan Karadzic concluded in his letter to the cochairmen.

Karadzic To Propose Open-City Status for Sarajevo *LD2507150993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 25 Jul 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 25 July (TANJUG)—President of the Srpska republic Dr. Radovan Karadzic announced today that at the Geneva negotiations he will put forward a proposal that Sarajevo becomes "an open city."

In a letter sent to Cochairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, Karadzic also offered to secure water, power, and gas supplies to Sarajevo and to stop all attacks on the Muslim sector, if the Bosnian Muslims take the same measures.

Karadzic also put forward a proposal that all operations against Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia cease and that they gain independence, provided that they are demilitarized.

Kljuic Rejects Partition, Calls Aggression 'Fascism' *AU2607104793 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 26 Jul 93 p 2*

[Livia Klingl report: "The Yugoslav Aggression Is Fascism"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Under the rotation principle, Bosnian Croat Stjepan Kljuic should have succeeded Alija Izetbegovic as president in December last year. Because of the war, the Bosnian Presidency decided, however, to let Izetbegovic continue in office.

Kljuic, who was elected by the people, was deposed as representative of the Croats by self-appointed Herceg-Bosna President Mate Boban. He now heads the center for war crimes in Sarajevo.

In a DER STANDARD interview, Kljuic says that "this war is not only a tragedy for the Bosnians. The Yugoslav aggression is pure fascism. Slobodan Milosevic is a fascist. But the world looks on indifferently—as it did in 1938."

The Serbs have also made criminals of the Croats, he says. "But the Bosnian Croats did not vote for Franjo Tudjman." The relations between Tudjman and Milosevic harm the Croats in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kljuic also criticizes Izetbegovic. He says he has made a political figure of Boban and is a poor negotiator. However, Kljuic's contact with Izetbegovic is intact. "I show him that I am a loyal citizen as long as there is the war, because he is fighting for the preservation of Bosnia—contrary to Boban and Muslim leader Fikret Abdic in Bihac."

Kljuic says the West is co-responsible for the situation. The West called upon the people to rise against communism, and then it called for elections. "They said they would help us on the road to independence. We met all the conditions. But the West abandoned us to fascism."

He doubts that there could also be bloody fighting in Kosovo. "If Serbia wins the war in Bosnia, Kosovo will be destroyed by other methods. Then the 5,000 best Albanian heads will be cut off, and there will be no Albanian revolution."

Kljuic does not consider a tripartition of Bosnia feasible. "The best option is the Vance-Owen plan." He sees in the axis between Moscow, Bucharest, Athens, and Belgrade a "dangerous alliance linking communism with Byzantinism." At the end of the interview, Kljuic adds a cynical "thanks to the West. Owing to its humanitarian aid, we will not be killed with empty stomachs."

Muslim Forces Violate Sarajevo Cease-Fire

LD2507201893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—The latest ceasefire agreement was violated by Muslim forces on the Sarajevo front on Sunday afternoon, the news agency of Bosnian Serbs SRNA said, quoting a communique released by the Army of Bosnian Serbs.

The latest ceasefire agreement in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina went into effect at 10:00 hours local time on Sunday.

A civilian was killed by a sniper bullet in Grbavica, a Serbian district of Sarajevo, where two civilians were wounded by shrapnel from shells fired from Muslim positions on the Hill Hum, SRNA said.

Muslims violated the ceasefire also in other sections of the Sarajevo front, according to military sources of Bosnian Serbs.

The Muslim side, wishing to make it appear that Bosnian Serbs were responsible, fired twenty 82-mm and 120-mm mortar shells from the direction of Bistrik on the sports centre Zetra, where the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has a base. The Muslim side then lodged a protest

with UNPROFOR against the alleged ceasefire violation by the Serbian side's artillery, SRNA said.

A Muslim commando-terrorist group was routed on the Serbian-held Mount Romanija, near Sarajevo, military sources of Bosnian Serbs said. Two commandos were killed and five were wounded.

Serbs Violate Cease-Fire

LD2507151893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Text] The cease-fire is not holding in Sarajevo. Since the Serbo-Montenegrin occupation forces began shelling positions held by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army at around 0900 this morning, artillery fire has been going on incessantly. A state of general alert is still in force. Citizens are advised not to leave their homes because the Chetniks are occasionally targeting central city districts as well as those in the Novi Grad municipality.

The situation is again most difficult along the entire front line toward Rajlovac and Vogosca. Tank, howitzer, mortar, and multiple rocket-launcher fire is again concentrated on Golo Brdo, strategic point 850 [on Zuc hill], and other targets on Zuc.

The artillery fell silent only briefly—shortly before 1300—when the chetniks attempted to break through toward Golo Brdo. Members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army opened intense fire, repelling this attack without major problems and forcing the chetniks to withdraw. The ensuing enemy shelling and regrouping of forces herald fresh attacks in the course of the day.

The courageous defenders are ready for them in their firmly entrenched positions and nobody should doubt the successful defense of Sarajevo. The Chetnik attacks and their disregard for the cease-fire agreement do not come as a great surprise, nor does the situation in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. At the moment there is nobody at the international forces command in Sarajevo to whom our liaison officer can hand over a letter of protest over the flagrant violations of the cease-fire. The reason is extremely banal: The UNPROFOR officers who would normally accept the letter of protest and take appropriate measures do not work on Sundays.

This was from the information service of the 1st Corps.

Serb Assault on Brcko Kills 40 People

LD2507180693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Nihad Salihovic and Hamid Deronjic reporting from the Brcko press center.

[Correspondent] The inferno at the Brcko battlefield is continuing. Determined to complete the project of ethnic cleansing and genocide, the Serb-fascist aggressor has been attacking defense lines and more than 50,000 inhabitants and refugees in densely populated settlements on the liberated territory.

Soldiers of the so-called Srpska republic army from Brcko, Semberija, Krajina, Majevisa, and Serbia as well as Russian mercenaries are all taking part in fierce tank and infantry attacks on [Muslim] defense lines. A ferocious tank and infantry attack on the village of Bajici has been repelled. This afternoon the Serb aggressor launched a powerful artillery and tank attack on the central defense line. The shelling of densely populated areas was intensified at 1450 today when dozens of howitzer shells landed deep into our liberated territory. About 40 people were killed today. It is difficult to monitor the number of wounded people because of severed communication links. [passage omitted]

Serb 'Counteroffensive'

AU2507142093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Nedjo Djuric report from Brcko]

[Text] Fierce fighting on the Brcko front has been going on for five days now. In their strong counteroffensive, the Serb fighters are pushing the Muslim forces south of Brcko, toward Majevisa. Fighting has been going on along the entire front since early morning. The fiercest battles are being waged in the Brka region, 8 km south of the town, and in the southwest part of the front, in the Bukovac, Lipovac, and Djurici region. Serb villages are controlled by the Srpska republic army since yesterday.

Croats Help Muslims

LD2607103093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0642 GMT 26 Jul 93

[Text] Brcko, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—The newly entrenched Srpska republic army positions in Brod, Kolonija, and Lipovac, 4 km southwest of Brcko, were the target of a strong Muslim attack last night, TANJUG's correspondent was told at the command of the Serb army's 1st Posavina Brigade.

Serb forces staged a devastating counterattack in the early morning and stormed the Posavina agricultural complex, the village of Djukici, and are steadily advancing toward the temporarily occupied village of Vitanovici, with the intention of finally liberating the remaining Serb-populated villages south of Brcko. At 0600, Muslim units received moral support from the Republic of Croatia, that is, from Rajevo Selo, when a 36-rocket launcher pounded the newly established southern Serb positions.

There are no casualty reports on the Serb side so far.

HVO-Muslim Fighting Continues Around Bugojno

LD2407165393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian Radio]

[text] The Muslim army continues its assault on Bugojno. According to the latest reports the town is again under siege, with the heaviest fighting in progress around the villages of Kula and Ljubnic. The Croatian Defense

Council (HVO) is putting up frenetic resistance to numerically superior forces of the Muslim army, which came here from Travnik, Gornji Vakuf, and Bugojno. After six days of fighting the Muslim side has not accepted a cease-fire, not even to allow a lull during which the dead still lying in the streets and in front of their burnt houses in the very center of town can be taken away. A vast majority of facilities in the town that had been controlled by the Croatian Defense Council have been burned down. A building housing Ljubljanska Bank, from where HVO police had been offering fierce resistance, has been completely burned down.

Since this morning the Muslim army has been again attacking the most important defense points of Novi Travnik and Vitez. The command of the Busovaca brigade has reported that they intercepted a radio conversation between Muslim commanders who were conveying an order by [Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President] Izetbegovic to launch lightning strikes in order to seize these towns as soon as possible—as it is of paramount importance for negotiations which are to start in Geneva very soon.

A heavy infantry attack by the Muslim army on [the village of] Gornja Papratnica near Zepce has been repelled. Following the foiled attack Muslim artillery fired over 100 grenades on Zepce and surrounding villages. Extremely heavy infantry fighting around the village of Viniste, near Zavidovici, lasted for a long time. According to HVO military forces, two HVO fighters were killed while the Muslim side suffered dozens of casualties.

There was only sniper and small-arms fire in Mostar today.

A protest rally by women evicted from the villages around Travnik, Novi Travnik, and Konjic, recently taken by the Muslim forces, is still in progress in front of the International Red Cross building and UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] base in Medjugorje. Several hundred women in mourning together with children and the elderly have been rallying there since 1100 this morning, demanding a fairer attitude and more attention of the international humanitarian organizations and UNPROFOR towards the suffering and plight of the Croats in the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia, north Herzegovina and the Neretva river valley.

Even after the UNPROFOR and International Red Cross representatives had promised they would offer help, the women continued with the protest rally demanding precise answers to their questions: when will Croatian POWs be released, when will roads be reopened and food supplies reach the besieged Croatian settlements, when will Muslim attack stop and when will they be able to return home. Most placards carry statements such as Why do you not help the Croats, Stop the killing, and We want to go home.

Muslims Reportedly Control Town

LD2607110893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes for Croatian radio]

[Text] Fighting in Croatian villages surrounding Bugojno continued overnight. Following fierce attacks, the Muslim army has seized the last Croatian Defense Council [HVO] base in the town—the barracks of the 2d Bugojno Combat Brigade—and now the entire town is controlled by the Muslim forces.

At 0600 this morning, the Muslim forces started shelling Novi Travnik, where sniper activities are also quite intensive.

Muslim forces tried to carry out an infantry breakthrough on the northern Mostar battlefield overnight, according to the command of the HVO operational zone of south-eastern Herzegovina. The attack was repelled. Two HVO fighters were wounded in the clashes.

Only sporadic infantry fire could be heard in Mostar overnight, and one HVO soldier was lightly wounded.

On the Stolac battlefield, the Serb aggressor engaged in fresh combat actions: 10 shells were fired on the defenders' positions in Rotimlja. There have been no reports of casualties.

Muslims Use Chemical Weapons

LD2507183193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpts] During the afternoon Muslims intensified their attacks on Bugojno and surrounding Croat villages. The fiercest fighting is still in progress around the base of the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] Second Bugojno Brigade, the only remaining HVO base in the town. Muslims are launching artillery attacks on this base and now they are beginning to use chemical weapons. They are also attacking HVO artillery positions trying to capture them at all costs. [passage omitted]

Muslim forces are firing at roads used by the civilians trying to escape from the villages of Udurlije, Lug, Desetine, Rosulje, and Donji Bobilovci, all under attack. Muslim artillery is also shelling an HVO makeshift war hospital. [passage omitted]

Muslim, Croat Battles Reported

LD2507161093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Jul 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes]

[Excerpt] Artillery and mortar shelling began in Mostar this afternoon. Explosions could be heard in the city center, along the Neretva river banks and on surrounding hills. Croat Defense Council [HVO] reconnaissance units previously noticed a large concentration of Muslim troops in Musala on the left bank of the Neretva river who were beginning to cross to the other side. HVO artillery shelled these locations, preventing fresh Muslim troops from infiltrating the right bank of the Neretva river. According

to the HVO, Muslim troops have suffered heavy losses. Artillery and mortar shelling from both sides is still in progress.

The Muslim offensive against Bugojno and surrounding Croat villages is continuing. Heavy fighting is in progress around the base of the HVO's 2d Bugojno Brigade, the last remaining HVO base in Bugojno. The Hotel Kalin, under Muslim attack for days now, is on fire today. All links with the hotel defended by the HVO's military police have been cut and therefore we have no reliable reports about the current situation. Fierce fighting is continuing in the Bugojno suburbs of Kula, Bogunovci, Bristovice, and Udurlije, all under Muslim attack from the direction of Ravno Rostovo. Heavy fighting is also in progress in and around the village of Gracanica, southeast of Bugojno, on the road toward Gornji Vakuf.

Nothing has come out of the cease-fire in the Zepce area either. This morning Muslim units attacked the villages of Bistrica and Orahovica near Zepce. Six HVO soldiers were wounded in infantry clashes. Three civilians were killed in Zepce last night when Muslim forces fired more than 100 shells on the town. Eight HVO soldiers were killed in infantry clashes fought last night in the village of Vinjiste near Zavidovici. [passage omitted]

Mladic Claims Muslim Forces Violating Cease-Fire

LD2507183693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 25 Jul 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—Commander of the Srpska army General Ratko Mladic accused on Sunday the local Moslem forces of violating a ceasefire agreed by the three warring parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BIH) to take effect at 10 a.m. (0800 gmt) on Sunday.

The BIH, an ex-Yugoslav republic, has been ravaged by a 16-month-old ethnic war fought by the local Serbs, Croats and Moslems.

Gen. Mladic, in his statement to REUTERS, said the accord on the termination of offensive actions around Sarajevo, the capital of the BIH, was being observed by Serbs, but not by Moslems.

Gen. Milan Gvero, who is Gen. Mladic's deputy, said that reports from the battlegrounds showed that Moslem forces were not respecting the latest ceasefire.

Gen. Gvero said that the Moslem "offensive in the Sarajevo region is continuing, just as is their Mt. Igman artillery bombardment of our positions."

He said the Serb forces would in no way shell Sarajevo, although, as he put it, Moslems were trying to provoke a counter-attack.

'Monstrous Ethnic Cleansing' by HVO Reported*LD2407212793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] With the generous aid of the regular army of the Republic of Croatia, the Croat Defense Council has completed its monstrous ethnic cleansing campaign in most areas of the Mostar municipality, which it controls. According to the accounts of numerous refugees, ethnic cleansing has been completed in the villages of Buna, Hodbina, Gubavica and Pijesci, as well as the entire Dubrava plateau between Mostar, Stolac, and Capljina. No Muslims are left in this area, which was once inhabited by about 20,000 people. All males from the ages of 15-60 years old have been taken away to internment camps in Capljina and Mostar, while women, children, and the elderly have been taken to Pocitelj and other detention points. [passage omitted]

Government Appeals to UNSC*LD2407183393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Text] Genocide against civilians in Bosnia-Herzegovina is continuing. In the Mostar, Stolac and Capljina areas alone about 16,000 civilians, mostly Muslims, are subjected to horrendous torture. Living in conditions of utter deprivation, humiliated and ill-treated, these people are subjected to unprecedented torture carried out by punitive expeditions of Croatian Defense Council [HVO] extremist forces and the regular army of the Republic of Croatia. HVO extremists and their Serb allies are keeping about 4,000 Muslims—women, children the elderly and the weak—in camps in Zepe, central Bosnia. Living conditions in tin hangars and stables are unbearable. The system of mass killing is the same everywhere. After the systematic destruction of towns and the killing of civilians, Muslim women, children and the elderly are persecuted and detained in camps, while the men, even those aged 60 years or more, are taken to unknown destinations. This is stated in a Bosnia-Herzegovina Government appeal addressed to the UN Security Council today.

Yellow arm-bands as a means to distinguish Muslims in Mostar are met with indifference throughout the world. For over 15 months the world has been watching how a small peace-loving European nation is disappearing [words indistinct], but this time it cannot say it did not know. The world is watching live reports of the killing of an entire nation. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government most strongly denounces all forms of genocide, regardless of who is committing it and where it is being committed. We therefore call for your urgent and direct intervention in the immediate release of all civilians, in Mostar, Stolac, Capljina and Zepe, as well as in other towns in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Our appeal for help must not result in your statements that you will not approve evil, that you will not

tolerate ethnic cleansing and force as a means of conquering other people's countries.

The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina need concrete aid, concrete deeds which will confirm your principles, your conventions and your charters, reads the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government appeal to the UN Security Council.

Army, HVO, MUP Forces Order Cease-Fire*LD2407163393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Text] So as to cooperate with General Briquemont and the Supreme Command of Bosnia-Herzegovina armed forces, Supreme Commander Rasim Delic has ordered Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units within the Army, and reserve units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] to halt all offensive operations and artillery and mortar attacks on [word indistinct] the republic by 1000 [0800 GMT] on 25 July 1993.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers must retain the highest level of combat readiness on all front lines in order to repel aggressor attacks should this cease-fire collapse. The order must be carried out in full to create optimum conditions for the resumption of the talks on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which must remain a single, indivisible state within its historically recognized borders, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center announced.

Zagreb Radio Report of Cease-Fire*LD2407163193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 24 Jul 93*

[Text] General Milivoje Petkovic, commander of the HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] main headquarters, sent a letter today to the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Briquemont. The letter informs him that the HVO has never been on the attack since fighting began but was always on the defense facing the brutal aggression of the Muslim army. The letter states that wishing to meet your demand and aware that all conflicts must be solved peacefully, with the authorization of the president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, I issued an order to all (HVO) units to cease combat activities by 0800 GMT tomorrow, on condition that the HVO is not attacked by the other warring sides.

Butrus-Ghali Asks NATO To Delay Air Operation*AU2307133993 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT
23 Jul 93*

[Text] Brussels, July 23 (AFP)—U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali has asked NATO to delay its new aerial operation over Bosnia-Herzegovina in defence of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), a senior NATO diplomat said here Friday [23 July].

The request came in a letter which ambassadors of the 16-country North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were studying, as informed sources said there had been "conflicting reports" from the U.N. of late which NATO was trying to clarify.

The diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity, said Butrus-Ghali's message stated, in essence: "I don't want NATO to do anything until I give the go-ahead."

The U.N. chief wanted forward air controllers to be in place in Bosnia before the air cover operation began, and meanwhile suggested there should be no training for the moment, the diplomat said.

About 50 air controllers would be needed, according to informed sources. Their task would be to guide the NATO warplanes called in by UNPROFOR in case its positions are attacked.

NATO sources pointed out that training was already under way in Italian airspace for the new mission and would have to continue.

Once the United Nations gave the word, U.S., British, French and Dutch planes were ready to go into action, they said. About 60 warplanes are involved.

President Tudjman Urges Confederation in Bosnia

PM2607103893 Paris *LIBERATION* in French
22 Jul 93 p 13

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Veronique Soule in Zagreb; date not given]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—President Franjo Tudjman explained to *LIBERATION* why the Serbo-Croatian plan for a confederation is, in his view, Bosnia's last chance. This 70-year-old former general, twice imprisoned for "nationalism," has dominated Croatian political life since the wave of anticommunism and separatism in 1990. He was elected president by universal suffrage last year.

[Soule] What is the plan for a confederation of three ethnic states which you are supporting in Geneva with President Milosevic?

[Tudjman] It is unthinkable, after the breakup of Yugoslavia, that Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the differences are even more marked and where three civilizations are cohabiting (the Orthodox Serbs, the Catholic Croats, and the Muslims—*LIBERATION* editor's note), can survive as a united state. Its only chance is "confederalization." In my view, they should not be ethnically pure states, but the Serbs have practised "ethnic cleansing" there and the Muslims are now doing the same against the Croats.

[Soule] Do you think that these peoples can live together again?

[Tudjman] In a confederation, yes. Not otherwise. Bosnia-Herzegovina could function as a union of three component peoples if we found a solution which was satisfactory to all. Otherwise, three separate states will be created which will be attached to their mother country (the Serbs to Serbia, the Croats to Croatia—*LIBERATION* editor's note).

[Soule] So there is a risk of the Croats wishing to join Croatia?

[Tudjman] That criticism cannot be leveled at me. We have advised the Croats to vote in the referendum on independence (for Bosnia in March 1991—*LIBERATION* editor's note) and to seek a solution in the framework of this republic. But it must be admitted that the Bosnian case is very specific. In 1968, in Bosnia, a religion—Islam—was proclaimed to be a nation for the first time. On that basis, the idea of turning the whole of Bosnia into an Islamic state grew. I have often had to explain to high-level politicians how the Muslims were able to become a nation when they were Croats and Serbs who were Muslim by religion.

[Soule] Are you prepared to exert pressure on the Bosnian Croats to restore territory to the Muslims and to ensure that they have a viable state?

[Tudjman] We can push them to cooperate in the search for a political solution, but we cannot force them to give up territory on which they have lived for hundreds of years and which they have defended against Serbian aggression and now against the Muslim offensive.

[Soule] The Croats and Muslims, former allies, are now fighting. Why?

[Tudjman] This alliance was essentially based on resistance to the Serbian aggression. Although, at first, it was primarily the Croats who fought and prevented the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina from being integrated into a Greater Serbia. The Muslims were not prepared to fight against the Serbo-Yugo-Communist aggression; they were seeking compromises (with the Serbs—*LIBERATION* editor's note). The Muslims have now lost between 60 and 65 percent of the territory from which they have been hounded by the Serbs. They probably believe that they will never be able to recover it. So, they have turned against the Croats in the hope of conquering territory which was given to the Croats (in the Vance-Owen plan—*LIBERATION* editor's note)¹ and perhaps beginning to build an Islamic state there.

[Soule] Do you blame the Muslims entirely for the fighting?

[Tudjman] Yes. It is they who began to attack territories allocated to the Croats (under the Vance-Owen plan—*LIBERATION* editor's note), and who then expelled the Croats from territories intended for the Muslims in central Bosnia. More than 40,000 Croats have been hounded out, and more than 100,000 are now threatened by the Jihad.

[Soule] In Geneva, you seemed to have a good understanding with President Milosevic. The impression given is that of an alliance among two brothers who are enemies. What is your answer?

[Tudjman] First, there is no alliance. Second, Europe, the United States, and the United Nations, have not done anything to halt the Serbian aggression. It is in Croatia's interests to normalize its relations with Serbia in order to find a peaceful solution in Bosnia.

Our great disagreement with Bosnia's Muslim authorities lies here. They want to pursue the war whatever the human cost; we want a peaceful solution. This is also in the interests of Europe and the world, because if this war lasted, it could lead to a confrontation between the Islamic world and the Christian world. We knew that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 mujahedin in Bosnia, but recently, Milosevic said in Geneva that there were between 5,000 and 6,000. We also know that Russian mercenaries, former Communists or Orthodox Christians, are fighting alongside the Serbs. Here, there is a risk of a clash between Orthodox and Catholic Europe.

[Soule] If the negotiations failed, would you be prepared to wage war to recover the territories conquered by the Serbs in Croatia?

[Tudjman] I believe in a gradual peaceful solution. But if Croatia fails by peaceful means, it will use all possible means to restore constitutional order to the whole of its territory. Nowhere in the world does a national minority have the right to secede.

[Soule] All means, including military means?

[Tudjman] Of course. I also hope that reason will prevail in Belgrade and that Serbia will end its aid to the Knin extremists (capital of Krajina—LIBERATION editor's note).

[Soule] What is your main criticism of the international community? And of France?

[Tudjman] Not having found effective means of halting the war. As far as France is concerned, we welcome the fact that opinion, which is traditionally favorable to Serbia, is better informed and that eminent people, including politicians, understand Croatia better. But allow me to explain to you: France and other countries probably thought that during World War II in Croatia there was a Quisling government (reference to Ante Pavelic's pro-Nazi Croatian state—LIBERATION editor's note) corresponding to Petain's France. In reality, there was a powerful antifascist movement (the Partisans—LIBERATION editor's note). In the last war, Croatia was therefore closer to De Gaulle's France than Serbia.

Footnote

¹The plan, rejected by the Serbs and then abandoned by the international community, made provision for the creation of 10 largely autonomous entities: three for each of the three peoples and the mixed region of Sarajevo.

Ethnic Cleansing Continues Despite UN Presence

93BA1238A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
10 Jul 93 p 4

[Article by Mirko Sajler: "Resolution 847 and UNPROFOR—East Sector: They Only Turn Up When Trash in the Drina Stink"]

[Text] *In the East Sector, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] continues to "mediate" in ethnic cleansing, while of the tasks set up by the Vance plan, not one of them has actually been performed, so that expelled persons say that once the month of the additional mandate expires they will go home.*

Andrew Bair, the official for civilian affairs in UNPROFOR's East Sector, sent a memorandum from his headquarters in Erdut to his colleague, Lt. Jean Paepen, the UNPROFOR liaison officer in Osijek, containing the following: "Based on instructions from Blondine Francise Negga, the coordinator of civilian affairs in East Sector, I request that you send through your channels an urgent and priority request for the transfer from East Sector to the free territory of Croatia the following persons (housed at Mosa Pijada Street No. 5 in Miklusevci): Daniel Oros, born 1958; Georgica Oros, born 1963; Ivan Oros, born 1988; Katarina Oros, born 1989; and Josip Oros, born 1991. We submit this request because this family is receiving death threats and is living in fear that they will be killed if they do not leave Miklusevci."

The UNPROFOR officer for civilian affairs in East Sector, Andrew Bair, writes briefly about what happened to the Oros family. First of all, back in 1991, Stjepan Miokovic, the father of Georgica Oros (probably Djordjica Oros, ed.)

was discovered to be hiding with the Oros family, and was taken to the police in Vukovar. There he was arrested and transported to Beli Manastir, where he is still being held. Since then, the Oros family has been living in fear amid incessant threats. This year, on 16 June, a uniformed man appeared at the family's house and threatened Georgica and the children, who were home alone, with a knife. He persistently demanded that she sign a statement in which she acknowledged that she knew that Stjepan Miokovic was hiding in her house. The neighbors too warned the Oros family not to stay in Miklusevci because their lives were in danger.

Nothing of the Vance Plan

This letter reveals the truth about UNPROFOR activities in Croatia. The peacekeeping forces arrived in the internationally recognized state in order to implement the Vance plan in its territories occupied by the Serb aggressor. But what does that include? Let us we recall: Most of all, UNPROFOR was supposed to disarm the paramilitary formations that remained there after the departure of the so-called JA [Yugoslav Army]. All heavy weaponry was to be moved across the Danube, to the Vojvodina side, and be positioned at an agreed distance. Finally, they were supposed to create the conditions for the return of expelled persons to their homes and for the gradual establishment of the constitutional-legal order of the Republic of Croatia in its occupied territories as well.

UNPROFOR has achieved none of this. The paramilitary formations have not been disarmed, the Serb rebels have forcibly taken the weapons that were under the control of the peacekeeping forces away from the UNPROFOR storage facilities, and not one precondition for the return of expelled persons to their homes has been created. Instead, the peacekeeping forces have been transformed into Serb allies that are helping to a large degree in the ethnic cleansing of the occupied territories. Even Andrew Bair's letter shows that the blue helmets are not in a position to protect Croats, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenians (Oros is a Ruthenian), and the other non-Serb population from rampages by the chetniks and other Serb extremists in the occupied territory. This is also confirmed by the latest event: On 2 July of this year, eight civilians were expelled from the occupied territory of eastern Slavonia, and were transported with Ms. Negga's blessing.

They Even Needed a Bulldozer

Another indication of UNPROFOR effectiveness in East Sector is provided by the case of the Osijek garbage dump. Although it is located next to an UNPROFOR control point, chetniks from Sarvas raided it and stole a bulldozer worth 300,000 German marks. Since it posed a danger to "Unikom" workers, the dump was closed, and city garbage had to be dumped near the auto fairgrounds in the very heart of the city, which threatened the health of Osijek residents. The zupan of Osijek-Baranja Zupanija, Branimir Glavas, asked that UNPROFOR make the chetniks return the bulldozer immediately and that it pave the way for opening the dump in Nemetin, or rather that the safety of "Unikom" workers at this main garbage dump be

guaranteed. If that were not done, Glavas announced that the city's garbage would be dumped in the Drava downstream from Osijek. UNPROFOR turned a deaf ear to all this. But when the threat to dump garbage in the Drava was carried out, UNPROFOR reacted: Its officers, especially Ms. Negga and Mr. Cabral, asked that this be stopped because it could cause a major ecological catastrophe. But there are chetniks and UNPROFOR living downstream from Osijek on the Drava and Danube, and Novi Sad and Belgrade are a little further down. But when the same garbage threatened the health of Osijek residents, the people from UNPROFOR simply played stupid. Perhaps this very example indicates clearly that the zupan of Osijek-Baranja Zupanija, Branimir Glavas, has found the right formula for communicating with UNPROFOR.

UNPROFOR effectiveness is nil. Such is the assessment of the Croat side. The Serb aggressor is satisfied with UNPROFOR. And that says it all. Because of this, a new mandate for the peacekeeping forces must be evaluated after a month, and then a decision should be made and it should be stated quite openly and publicly whether or not we still need UNPROFOR. Expelled persons have announced that they will wait another month, and then they will begin crossing the UNPROFOR control points toward their homes. That will be a Gandhian tactic, and it is hard to predict how it will turn out. Perhaps in bloodshed. If blood is shed, then it will represent an end to the Via Dolorosa for the people who have already spent more than a year in exile.

[Box, p 4]

Ms. Negga and Mr. Cabral Find Bizarre Reasons

"Even before the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate, we issued sharp protests concerning ethnic cleansing in the territory of East Sector," says Petar Kljajic, a member of the commission for relations with UNPROFOR in East Sector. "It did not stop, but instead assumed even broader proportions. The exclusive culprit in this is UNPROFOR, led by Ms. Negga and her deputy, Mr. Cabral. They find bizarre reasons for Croats who are in the occupied territory to be expelled from their homes. Members of the peacekeeping forces simply say that they cannot guarantee the security of the non-Serb population in eastern Slavonia and Baranja. In this way, they are not carrying out the provisions of Security Council Resolution 847. After this latest expulsion of Croats, Hungarians, and Ruthenians from the occupied territories of eastern Slavonia, we sent our sharpest protest to the UN secretary general, the Security Council, and UNPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb. We will ask that Ms. Negga and Mr. Cabral, who are helping the chetniks to carry out their plans, be replaced immediately."

RSK Official: 'No Compromise' on Army Withdrawal

AU2307162393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] In the International Press Center, the members of the republic of Serbian Krajina military delegation who

participated in the three-day Vienna negotiations on a cease-fire, together with the representatives of the Republic of Croatia, held a press conference for domestic and foreign reporters. Our journalist Mijusko Tomic was also there.

[Tomic] Colonel Kosta Novakovic, the head of the delegation, said that the republic of Serbia Krajina army delegation had held talks in Vienna with the delegation of the Croatian Army. The talks have now been postponed for a few days. The goal of these interrupted talks, which will be resumed, was a cease-fire on all the fronts, which is what the republic of Serbian Krajina delegation is proposing and would accept. As head of the delegation, Colonel Kosta Novakovic said:

[Begin Novakovic recording] I said that after associated measures, the disengagement of ours and the Croat forces and the heavy weapons—on both sides, the same principle, reciprocity for both the republic of Serbian Krajina army and the Croatian Army—peace is practically within reach. That is when the serious political negotiations can begin between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia.

What was the problem at these negotiations in Vienna? We have always been—and when I say we, I mean the republic of Serbian Krajina army, the republic of Serbian Krajina, that is—in favor of a cease-fire on all the fronts. However, at the last negotiations in Geneva, the Croats requested a local cease-fire. We were absolutely opposed to a local cease-fire. The Croats requested this because they already had in preparation the operation to open the Maslenica bridge and Zemunik Airport.

After consultations, and understanding that both Croatia and the world need the Maslenica bridge, we accepted this local cease-fire. The Erdut agreement followed, which we signed on 15 July, and Croatia signed on 16 July. According to this agreement, we agreed to the opening of Zemunik Airport and the construction of the pontoon bridge in the Maslenica area. I can say the following: For our side, for the republic of Serbian Krajina, the stipulations of the Erdut agreement have been fulfilled. There can be no further compromising, or negotiating. Everything is clear.

Therefore, it is clear that at the instant when we allowed the bridge and Zemunik Airport to be opened, Croatia undertook the obligation to withdraw from the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina. There can be no compromise regarding this deadline, set for 31 July. There can be no extensions. If the Croats honor this, then everything will be fine. [end recording]

RSK Official on Refusal To Sign Agreement

LD2307131593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1102 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Excerpts] Knin, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—An agreement that would annul the decree on the unconditional withdrawal of the Croatian Army from the occupied territories of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] to the line of separation of 3 January 1992 was being prepared at the Vienna talks,

RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic said today in an interview with TANJUG's correspondent in Knin, Sava Jankovic.

"Such an agreement could not be signed because it would annul the Erdut agreement," Jarcevic stressed.

He also said that the most important issue is "that no subsequent talks can bring into question the Erdut agreement. The agreement is completely independent and the Croatian side must honor what it signed."

In reply to a question on why the talks in Vienna were suspended and why the Serb side refused to sign the offered agreement on cease-fire and demarcation, he said: "According to that agreement, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] positions would be in Jasenica near Obrovac and in Zemunik Donji, while both sides would be allowed to erect their control points near these locations, out of the range of infantry weapons."

Croatian forces would therefore remain in front of the Maslenica bridge and Zemunik. "I suppose this is why our delegation refused to sign the agreement. They did what they had to do," Jarcevic stressed.

Despite the fact that the talks were suspended, Jarcevic expressed the RSK's readiness to resume them at any time and venue abroad, but "we will not succumb to demands and pressures which threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the RSK."

Asked what the RSK will do in diplomatic terms if Croatia fails to implement the Erdut agreement, Jarcevic replied: "We will consider the opening of the pontoon bridge at Maslenica to be the continuation of the aggression against the RSK." [passage omitted]

Asked to comment on the statement by Vitaliy Churkin, special Russian negotiator on the former Yugoslavia, that "the RSK could easily become a state within a state," Jarcevic said: "Mr. Churkin is giving us too little, while the Croatian side would probably not agree to us becoming a confederal unit of some future Croatia."

"It would be insane if the RSK, which has been an independent state for three years now, gave up part of its sovereignty and liberty for some confederation in a future Croatia," Jarcevic said. "This means that our people cannot accept less than they have today."

'Huge' Weapons Cache Discovered at Airport

AU2107143493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 21 Jul 93

[Text] A news conference was held at Maribor airport today in light of the discovery of a huge amount of smuggled weapons. The conference was attended by Interior Minister Ivan Bizjak and Defense Minister Janez Jansa, as well as Director of the Customs Office Franc Kosir. Stane Kocutar reports from Maribor airport:

[Kocutar] At 1520 [1320 GMT] the above-mentioned ministers together with the director of the Customs' Office informed the journalists present about the discovery of what, at the moment, is the biggest illegal ammunition dump in this part of Europe. So, what is it all about?

Under the insignia of humanitarian aid, the head of the former Security Information Service for the Maribor region was supposedly hiding 11 containers of weapons of East European manufacture in the warehouses at Maribor airport. The cargo consists of several tens of thousands of automatic rifles, mortars, mines, and ammunition. The cargo arrived at Maribor airport toward the end of September 1992.

The news conference at Maribor Airport is still underway. We will report further throughout the afternoon.

Public Against Restoration of Yugoslavia

93BA1202F Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 93 pp 1, 3

[Article by Jana Taskar: "The Public on the Fate of Slovenia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Jul—Two years have passed since Slovenia declared its autonomy and independence and two and a half years since the plebiscite. How would people decide today? In a telephone poll conducted by our STIK agency, 719 of 787 people polled (from among 1,100 randomly selected telephone subscribers) answered that they would vote for independence again. Only 19 answers were negative, 15 respondents thought that the situation was different today, and 34 were undecided.

And how did the respondents react to the hints that Yugoslavia should be restored and Slovenia should return to its protection? No, it should not be done in any event, retorted 682 of the 787 respondents. There were 60 individuals in favor of establishing economic cooperation, and only 10 were in favor of Yugoslavia's restoration and Slovenia's return to it; five of them replied that it was not even important anymore. There were 30 undecided respondents.

Slovenia is autonomous and independent today. If there were a plebiscite today, would you vote for independence again?

Yes	91.4%
No	2.4%
The situation is different	1.9%
I don't know	4.3%

Some people are quietly talking about the necessity of restoring Yugoslavia and Slovenia's returning to it. Do you think that Slovenia should return to its protection?

Yes, that would be best for Slovenia	1.3%
Yes, but only economically	7.6%
No, in no event	86.7%
It is not important for Slovenia	0.6%
I don't know	3.8%

The Public Does Not Know How to Explain the Return of the Decorations

Ljubljana, 2 Jul—On the anniversary of independence, politicians argued about whether there would be a state celebration on 25 June or not. The respondents answered that question as follows: 339 of them said that a celebration was necessary, and 320 that it should be celebrated, but modestly. Only 57 of them thought that a celebration was unnecessary, 36 did not care, 33 were undecided, and 2 stated a different answer.

Six politicians who actively participated in independence returned their decorations before the statehood holiday, because independence had supposedly been devalued to some extent. The next question to the respondents was whether they thought that their criticisms were justified. Most of them, 306 (38.9 percent), answered that they could not judge, 293 (37.2 percent) did not agree with the six's criticisms, 93 (11.8 percent) agreed completely, and 88 (11.2 percent) only agreed partly. Only seven respondents (0.9 percent) said that it was not important. How the respondents viewed Milan Kucan's conduct regarding this event can be clearly understood from the table.

After the return of the decorations, some people criticized Defense Minister Janez Jansa for wanting all the power for himself and wanting to introduce a military dictatorship. "Do you think that the criticisms are justified?" Of the 787 respondents, 325 (41.3 percent) answered negatively, 253 (32.1 percent) did not know and were not interested, 181 (23 percent) answered affirmatively, and 28 (3.6 percent) said that it all seemed absurd to them.

More interesting are the reasons for the affirmative and negative responses. Among the 181 individuals who had a foreboding of a military dictatorship, 104 thought that the defense minister was an intransigent and stubborn person, 38 just attributed it to his position, 10 percent of them acted on the basis of the rumors, and the remaining 29 stated different answers, for instance that he had too much power, that he was ambitious, self-assertive, he wanted to be first, he was the leader of the army, etc. Among the 325 who answered no to the basic question, 133 of them answered that there was no reason for the criticisms about a military dictatorship, 125 said that anything like that was invented by his opponents, 49 that it was not possible to carry out a military coup here, and 18 of them gave different answers, for instance that they trusted him, that he supported Slovenia, that he was a man in the right position, etc.

Among current political topics, this time we also included a question (answered by 792 people included in the poll) about which of the present political parties they would vote for if the elections were tomorrow. In comparison with the answers to the same question (in which 739 individuals participated) last month, there have been several changes. Last month the United List of Social Democrats received 4.7 percent support, the Slovene Christian Democrats 5.7, the Liberal Democratic Party 12.9, the Slovene People's Party 3.9, the Slovene National Party 3.7, the SNS [Slovene National Party] independent deputies' group 0.3, the Greens of Slovenia 1.6, the Greens-ESS [Ecological Social Party] 0.3, the Social Democratic Party 2, and the Democrats 5.2 percent of the votes.

In comparison with last month, there was a 12 percent decline in the proportion of those who either would not participate in the elections, would not vote for any of these parties, or were undecided. Last month there was a total of 59.7 percent of such people, and this time they are only 47.7 percent.

President Milan Kucan rejected the criticisms of the six people who returned the decorations. Do you trust the president?

Yes, I trust him completely	61.6%
Yes, but less than before	15.9%
No, I no longer trust him	9.9%
I never trusted him	2.4%
The president's role in this regard does not seem important	1.1%
I don't know	8.3%
I don't want to choose	0.9%

Two years after independence, the politicians have argued over whether there will be a state celebration on 25 June or not. What do you think?

A celebration is necessary	43.0%
It should be celebrated, but modestly	40.7%
A celebration is unnecessary	7.2%
I don't care	4.6%
I don't know	4.2%
Other	0.3%

If the elections were tomorrow, which of the present parliamentary parties would you vote for?

The United List of Social Democrats	5.8%
The Slovene Christian Democrats	7.1%
The Liberal Democratic Party	16.8%
The Slovene People's Party	5.4%
The Slovene National Party	4.5%
The SNS independent deputies' group	0.0%
The Greens of Slovenia	3.0%

The Greens-Ecological Social Party	0.4%
The Social Democratic Party of Slovenia	2.4%
The Democrats	6.8%
None of them	11.5%
I don't know	26.1%
I wouldn't go to vote	10.1%

Kucan Accused of Damaging National Interests

93BA1196A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 23 Jun 93 p 3

[Open letter to President Milan Kucan]

[Text] Two years after winning its freedom, autonomy, and independence, which saved Slovenia from the Yugoslav slaughter at a relatively low cost, the Slovene state, in the eyes and actions of some of our authorities and the political public, is becoming controversial, and even more controversial for those circles are the people who strove the most for independence.

We are witnessing a political devaluation of Slovene independence, and there are increasingly vocal initiatives abroad and here for the revival of some sort of new Yugoslavia. The issue of the sense of Slovene independence is being raised again in influential international circles (Kissinger, De Michelis, and so forth). Yugoslavia, in its old framework and supposedly on some new and allegedly economic basis, is once again arising, like a phoenix, in the background of possible alternatives for settling the situation in the Balkans. Since those who could and should do something to prevent the killing, raping, and ethnic cleansing are healing their bad consciences by seeking causes for the war and the collapse of Yugoslavia in Slovenia as well, the times have become dangerous. A powerful group of influential people is active in Slovenia today, even in the ruling parties and in leadership positions, who have ethnic, family, political, or economic ties with the former Yugoslavia and favor reviving it.

On the other hand, an attempt is even being made to criminalize Slovenes' struggle for independence. Some high officials are trying to prove that the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], all through the aggression and up until its withdrawal from Slovenia, acted legally, which raises the question of how the Slovene army and police, which resisted the aggression, then acted.

Today high JNA officers who worked for many years against Slovenia's independence and in June 1991 threatened its destruction are receiving advance payments on military pensions that exceed comparable wages in the economy. Some people who do not even have citizenship were allowed to buy apartments for a tenth of the real value, so that they could then sell them and buy villas in Belgrade. Individuals even did so with loans from our banks that they will probably never repay.

Many people who until now did not venture to return to Slovenia have recently been coming again (including even

former JNA generals), demanding citizenship and the purchase of apartments for a tenth of their value, and threatening the state that they attacked with tanks and aircraft two years ago with the European Court for Human Rights.

On several occasions, in one way or another, directly or indirectly, you have advocated and inquired about military pensions for former JNA officers, the purchase of military apartments, and other problems of theirs. You have paid much less attention to the children and relatives of the Territorial Defense forces and policemen who died in the war for Slovenia and to their problems.

Do you recall, Mr. President, how some members of the former Slovene Presidency opposed public commemoration of the declaration of independence on 26 June 1991? This year history is obviously repeating itself. Specifically, your chief of staff, in the committee for celebrating the second anniversary of statehood, opposed a public event in the square in front of the parliament with all his might, since you were allegedly supposed to have other obligations then.

Slovenia has not even commemorated the anniversary of international recognition or the date of its admission to the UN. What kind of state is it in which its president finds time for commemorating the Dolomite statement, but not for its birthday, the day of statehood? We beg your pardon, but we do not like your "denial script" this year.

In the so-called wiretapping scandal, you even gave political legitimacy to national treason and thus helped to establish a model of conduct in which joint national and state interests do not enjoy appropriate security and protection, as in all normal states. Today it is immoral to criticize for informing their own citizens about state secrets when it can be done with impunity (and moreover in conversations with foreigners) by a member of the highest state leadership in far more crucial times. Instead of condemning the perpetrators then, you turned the proceedings against those who exposed them.

Mr. President, for many years you were and still are the best-informed person in Slovenia. Many formal threads and channels, and even more informal ones, flow to you, along which information arrives and instructions depart. You were previously informed about scandals such as Elan, Zlobec, Slovin, HIT [expansion not given], etc., but your public and other reactions were much more directed toward supporting those who in recent years hurriedly "privatized" liberated Slovenia under Markovic's law. Today many of your former comrades in the Slovene LC Central Committee are also rich shareholders and entrepreneurs, while unemployment is growing and looted enterprises are collapsing. Parallel enterprises are emerging, however, the former joint capital is being transferred gratis, and hidden and laundered money is returning home from abroad and buying bankrupt assets. Furthermore, someone else is also found from the former (and mostly also present) political elite, who then explains that these are primarily the consequences of independence.

Esteemed Mr. President, your conduct recently even surprises us much more, since for the most part we followed your contribution to Slovene independence from up close, and thoroughly believed that you were cooperating with sincere conviction and not because you only had two choices available after the plebiscite: to be for Slovenia or against it. Many Slovenes also believed that, and consequently you achieved a victorious result in the last elections. We do not know how to explain your present conduct.

In 1990, for two days (from 17 to 19 May), in spite of appeals and pressures, you delayed adopting a decision on stopping Territorial Defense [TO] weapons from being turned over to the Yugoslav army, which can be clearly proven publicly. Because of your hesitation, during those two days several tens of thousands of weapons were confiscated from Slovene TO. Then we compensated for it with difficulty through purchases, where that was even possible. Today, your party's deputies and your closest collaborators are submitting deputies' questions in which they are trying to criminalize vitally necessary self-defense measures, which at least partially also corrected your mistakes! At the same time, the minutes from the meetings at which most of the decisions were made on these matters are in your hands, and you do not want to yield them to those who would have to answer the deputies' questions.

A year ago, the Slovene parliament passed a law on conferring the Slovene Republic's medal of freedom (URADNI LIST RS, No. 24/92), which specifies in article 3:

"The decoration is awarded:

"—for heroism in defending the freedom of the Republic of Slovenia;

"—for extraordinary services in advancing and defending the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia;

"—for personal bravery and self-sacrifice in saving and protecting human lives and material goods;

"—for services and personal contributions in establishing, developing, and strengthening international relations, which contribute to the international recognition and advancement of the Republic of Slovenia;

"—for services in other areas of life and work that are important for the sovereignty and freedom of the Republic of Slovenia."

When this decoration was awarded to those who had actually contributed to Slovenia's independence at great personal risk and in mortal danger, the selection was extremely rigorous. Some members of TO and the police, without whom there would have been no successful defense, were scarcely included in the list. Some of them were even left without the medal of freedom.

Then you awarded the highest degree, the Golden Medal of Freedom, to Dr. Ljubo Bavcon, who for many years was a member of the postwar repressive regime and a joint creator of the Bolshevik Yugoslav and Slovene legislation

on the basis of which innumerable political prisoners rotted in Yugoslav and Slovene prisons. After the establishment of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in 1988, the Slovene LC Central Committee at that time, under your leadership, activated him as chairman of the hastily established Council for the Protection of Human Rights under the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which was supposed to overshadow the civil-society movement headed by the Committee. Since that Council had an at least partly pluralist composition, it also did a great deal of good work. After the 1990 elections, however, Dr. Bavcon's public statements were aimed primarily at excusing and minimizing the wrongs that were done at times when he himself was part of the repressive regime. And how are we to explain his struggle for human rights in light of his urging Col. Ivan Bizjak, one of the heads of the JNA Security Service (on the very day of the declaration of the Slovene state, on 25 June 1991) to file a civil suit against Igor Bavcar and Janez Jansa, because they were supposed to have been guilty of the publication of pictures and other data on prominent KOS [military counterintelligence service] members in Slovenia (this is quoted from the DELO newspaper)?

You also awarded the Gold Medal of Freedom to Dr. Janko Pleterski, who actively participated in stopping and suppressing liberation processes in Slovenia. He insisted on the thesis that Slovenia could not survive without Yugoslavia. He glorified the former Soviet Union, without which, in his opinion, there could be no Slovene or especially NOVA REVIJA. Finally, he threatened those who would venture to break up Yugoslavia with Italian policy, which would supposedly institute the old Yugoslav borders vis-a-vis an independent Slovenia.

Mistaken views and an opportunistic policy are not anything unknown or intolerable, but in our judgment, of course, it is impermissible to honor such views and such a policy, which has been overwhelmed by history, democratic elections, and the war for Slovene independence, with a decoration that was established for the highest contributions to the Slovene state's independence.

Mr. President, we request that you publicly explain which sentence in article 3 of the Law on the Golden Medal of Freedom of the Republic of Slovenia was the basis for your decision to award the highest special decoration to your fellow-travelers from communist times, Dr. Bavcon and Dr. Pleterski.

Because of all the above, Mr. President, we, the undersigned recipients of the Golden Medal of Freedom, are returning the decoration to you.

Igor Bavcar
France Bucar
Janez Jansa
Jelko Kacin
Lojze Peterle
Dimitrij Rupel

Agreement on Border Control in Piran Bay
93BA1204B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
4 Jul 93 p 2

[Article by C. Grzanic: "Summer Agreement on Piran Bay"]

[Text] Kopar—The successful cooperation between the Pula Police Administration and the Kopar MZ [expansion unknown] at a meeting on Thursday was affirmed by a new agreement concerning the summer regime for border control in Piran Bay.

Also discussed at the meeting was the implementation of measures that were adopted through the signing of an accord between the Croatian and Slovene Governments relating to acceptance of persons along the common state border and the battle against terrorism, smuggling, and drug abuse, as well as the phenomenon of organized crime. Also extended was an agreement between the Croatian and Slovene MUP's [Ministries of Internal Affairs] stipulating the regime for border control in Piran Bay during tourist season.

From 1 July to 1 October, there will be no border control within Piran Bay of daily crossings by citizens of the two states who are crossing the border as tourists, and by tourists on vacation from other countries who are staying in the bay itself with their vessels.

The only requirement of this regime is that such vessels must return to their starting harbor on the same day. Both sides, we were informed in closing, reserve the right to conduct security controls in their part of Piran Bay.

Peterle Sends Protest Note To Croatia
93BA1202E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Jul 93 p 1

[Article by Veso Stojanov: "Protest Note Because of Buzet"]

[Text] Peterle announced that Slovenia would institute retaliatory measures against Croatia because of the events in Buzet.

Ljubljana, 2 Jul—"Yesterday's events in Buzet aggravated relations between Slovenia and Croatia unnecessarily and in an unusual way," Lojze Peterle said at today's regular monthly press conference on the premises of the Foreign Ministry. Particularly unusual, the Slovene foreign minister thought, was the fact that the dispute in Buzet occurred precisely when the two states were just about to sign several agreements that were supposed to normalize mutual relations.

These are agreements on property, trade, and payment transactions and the establishment of a diplomatic concession, which for the most part have already been agreed upon and are now only waiting for formal confirmation and signature. The Slovene foreign minister thinks that with yesterday's events in Buzet, it seems that no one is interested in resolving the open issues between Slovenia and Croatia.

Lojze Peterle said that yesterday he sent the authorities in Zagreb a protest note, in which he also announced the possibility of instituting Slovene countermeasures, unless the situation in Buzet were once again as it was before. Specifically, yesterday a delegation from the Istrian parish, with a police escort, entered the plant at the Union brewery in Buzet and stated that it was occupying it in accordance with decisions by the Istrian parish assembly. In doing so, however, it did not offer any administrative or judicial decision that would permit such an action. Minister Peterle expressed the hope that the Croatian authorities would settle the matter immediately, "and if the previous situation is not yet restored today in accordance with the principles of a law-governed state, we will engage in countermeasures." It is not yet known what they will be like, since they are just being prepared, according to the minister.

Minister Peterle also said that a similar note to Zagreb was also sent by the Justice Ministry, which protested against the completely illegal action by the Croatian side. Lojze Peterle did not want to answer the criticisms and accusations by Slovene National Party president Zmago Jelincic about the friendship and cooperation agreement between Slovenia and Croatia. He only said that he would not descend to the level of deputy Jelincic's accusations.

Government Defends Agreement With Croatia

93BA1202C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 2 Jul 93 p 8

[Article by (sz): "We Are Not Selling Out Slovenia"]

[Text] *The Foreign Ministry's response to Zmago Jelincic's accusations yesterday; Peter Tos warned Dr. Rudolf about the occupation of the Buzet brewery.*

Ljubljana, 1 Jul—The claim by deputy Zmago Jelincic, a member of the parliamentary committee on international relations, that the Slovene Foreign Ministry (government) was selling out Slovenia through the planned signing of an intergovernmental friendship and cooperation agreement with Croatia and that the agreement's proposers were "criminals" already received a response yesterday. At a press conference at the Foreign Ministry, Peter Tos rejected the criticisms and accusations.

According to him, it is a proposed agreement (it was proposed by Croatia) that is among the general international political documents by which states try to specify areas of cooperation, and which express an overall desire for good-neighborly relations, in our case. It is not exactly common but it is a traditional document, like the one that we signed with Hungary (at Budapest's initiative), and agreements with Russia and Ukraine are also being prepared. The provisions are general and non-binding in comparison with agreements that precisely specify cooperation in individual areas.

Consequently, in Peter Tos's opinion, deputy Jelincic's views are a consequence of unfamiliarity with international practice in the formation of such international agreements. Rhetorical as it is, the document certainly has

no connection with the establishment of a "confederation," since if that were true, Slovenia would already be in a confederation with Hungary, since on some points that intergovernmental agreement is even more specific and binding than the ones with Croatia.

We can view the agreement as politically useful, since we could hardly imagine a state that would reject an offer to sign such an agreement, and above all it is not harmful in any respect. Since three specific and important agreements between the governments of Croatia and Slovenia (on trade and economic cooperation, legal and property matters, and the establishment of joint bodies for determining the border) are to be signed after the signing of this agreement (probably next week), the "controversial" agreement has that much more specific importance. In any case, it is by no means contrary to the parliamentary guidelines for Slovene foreign policy.

Peter Tos also met yesterday with Dr. Rudolf (who is responsible in Croatia for border issues with Slovenia), and on that occasion provided him with Slovenia's positions on the disputed issues regarding the border, and likewise warned him that the occupation of the Union brewery in Buzet the day before yesterday, no matter how "local" an action it was, was not in accordance with the provisions of the agreement on legal and property issues that is supposed to be signed a week from now.

Animosity Against Foreigners Expressed

93BA1196D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Jun 93 p 12

[Article by Vlado Podgorsek: "Incomprehensible Generosity"]

[Text] *In the Brezice border municipality, all sorts of injustices are particularly obvious and painful: Croatian officers are freely living here; high compensation.*

Brezice, 22 Jun—Allegedly it is quite normal and in accordance with legal regulations for a group of Croatian officers to drive from our state to the neighboring one every day. In Brezice, they are picked up house by house by a Renault Espace van, and taken as unarmed civilians to work at the Croatian army headquarters. It is unusual but nevertheless true that none of the officers—allegedly there are six or seven of them—have Slovene citizenship.

It is even stranger, of course, that among the Croatian officers who live in Brezice, at least one fired missiles at Sentilj during the war two years ago! Obviously the Slovene state leadership also knows about these and other "interesting things" from Brezice, and obviously tacitly agrees with all of it. Let us admit that the Croatian side would quite certainly not allow similar trips in the opposite direction. Obviously we in the young Slovene state are much more liberal, or else we moved toward Europe too quickly and ate up democracy with a big spoon, while forgetting about former bitter experiences. Admittedly, we should nevertheless deny the rumors and coverage by some daily newspapers that have claimed that the Croatian army

officers living in Brezice are even receiving Slovene unemployment compensation. That was refuted at the Brezice office of the Employment Institute and its unit in Sevnica.

Nevenka Les, head of the legal service at the Sevnica unit, particularly emphasized that none of these seven had received unemployment compensation. She confirmed, however, that similar cases had occurred with respect to some other individuals. Because of the protection of privacy, of course, it was not possible to obtain the names.

Ivan Kupasin, secretary of the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Brezice municipal assembly, does not want to provide any information either. He is convinced, however, that on the basis of the anonymous information he is receiving, it can be concluded that many things are going on in Brezice. Everyone—whether the police or the above-mentioned secretariat or others—is excusing himself, saying that these matters are not under his jurisdiction. Zlata Pirs, commander of the border police at the Obrezje international border crossing, explained that it is obviously possible to come here with valid personal identification and even with a passport from the self-styled Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. That will also be the case after 26 June, when a red Yugoslav passport issued in Slovenia will no longer be valid, but it will still be possible to use the same documents from Serbia or Montenegro.

It is precisely because individual authorities are evading responsibility or absurd regulations are in effect, that people are increasingly dissatisfied, and in more and more cases even despondent. It does not seem important to them that seven or 25 members of the air force drive from Brezice to the Croatian "headquarters" every day; what is important to them is that there is a growing number of unregistered refugees and other individuals in the city,

who are also coming from Kosovo, Bosnia, and even Serbia, and moving in with friends and relatives here.

It is no less significant that many experts from the neighboring state are illegally taking jobs away from their hosts, and that at least 400 foreigners have work permits for employment in Slovenia, while many domestic people, at least, 1,500, are on the waiting list or unemployed. It is not comprehensible to people that for almost two years now 200 individuals from Croatia, who once worked at the military Technical and Repair Institute in Bregana, have been receiving compensation from our Employment Institute. Each month they receive 14,000-23,000 toalars each, i.e., 200-300 marks, which is three to four times their average pay in Croatia, where they live. Our people, who by force of circumstances are employed on the other side of the border, are receiving about 100,000 Croatian dinars per month, which is about 5,000 toalars. They have to live on that in Slovenia, and there are more than a few who have to survive on that. The hosts also do not like having to wait for a telephone at their post office, especially at the end of the week. In fact, there are still long lines of Croatian Serbs in front of the booths, who call family members and relatives in the south of the former Yugoslavia from there. That could be additional income for the post office, but many of them, without settling accounts, lose themselves in the crowd. The residents of Brezice, of course, cannot make telephone calls because of the long lines, and there are also numerous tourists among them, both domestic and foreign. People in Brezice observe that Croats are opening their enterprises there, without employing anyone, but instead bringing their own work force with them. With the new wave of refugees that some people are predicting, one should be less generous in acquiring the status of a foreigner. In Brezice, it is already difficult for a Brezice resident to be a Brezice resident.

Federal**U.S. Senate Decision Called 'Civilizational Disgrace'***AU2307155993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 93*

[Text] In reaction to the U.S. Senate decision to allow President Clinton to exclude the aid for the development of opposition forces and independent political media in Serbia and Montenegro from the regime of international sanctions, Milivoje Pavlovic, the Information Minister of the Republic of Serbia, says:

The idea to influence the process of political life in a sovereign state from outside is infinitely removed from those democratic ideas that we believed the United States would be loyal to. This idea is a reflection of profound ignorance of the very essence of political pluralism and evidence of a low degree of understanding of the values and ideas of freedom of the press, stresses Minister Pavlovic.

It is a civilizational disgrace to bring into question the right of a nation older than 14 centuries to choose its own way of democratic development. This is an eminent [eminenti] tact of nondemocracy [nedemokratija] and spiritual violence in the name of the interests of daily politics. I also wonder at the naivete of the said U.S. institution, which believed that its concept of hiring journalism would be received here with acclaim and implemented.

Prime Minister Kontic Denies Situation 'So Black'*AU2307204093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 Jul 93*

[Milan Klisovic report]

[Excerpt] After visiting Kraljevo, I do not get the impression that everything is so black and that there is no way out of this economic situation. True, the sanctions have hit the most vital part of the economy, primarily the exporting part, but the reason for all the problems are not only the sanctions. The breakdown of the integral Yugoslav market has also significantly contributed to this, and the logical disruption in the supply of goods and money, while the issuing of uncovered money has led to hyperinflation and monetary chaos, said Radoje Kontic, the federal prime minister, in frank talks with the economists of the Raski, Moravicki, and Rasin counties.

Speaking about the Federal Government's future ministabilization program, Prime Minister Kontic said that it would be based on measures for lowering inflation, halting further falls in production, and reviving those economic organizations that have domestic input, which primarily means agriculture.

The freezing of prices—said the federal prime minister—is out of the question, because this would be a real adventure, but monopolies would be controlled. New products of employment will be stimulated. [sentence as heard] The dinar must be given back its dignity. However, its devaluation is inevitable, albeit with certain preparations, of

course. Solutions which stimulate labor must be found, and not various ventures which irritate the citizens.

Speaking about establishing a unique foreign exchange market, Kontic said:

[Begin Kontic recording] On the foreign exchange market, the exchange rate of the dinar will be established on a daily basis. This rate of the dinar will be obligatory for all transactions. This means we are switching to a unique rate of the dinar. As you know, until now we had two official rates and several unofficial ones. We have not discontinued credit payments [ziralno placanje]. On the contrary, we are going to insist on credit payments, but we have discontinued credit payments where we have a foreign exchange rate five times greater than on this market. We are not going to allow this, because this is black marketeering, it is robbery. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Serbia**Ministry Denies Hungarians, Croats Expelled***LD2307202693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 23 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—In response to reports submitted to the United Nations by Croatia that 35,000 Croats and 50,000 Hungarians have been expelled from the FRY, that is, from Vojvodina in the Republic of Serbia, Margit Savovic, federal minister for human rights and minority rights, has sent a letter to the United Nations in which she states with full responsibility that the state organs of the FRY have not expelled a single citizen, nor are they aware of any such case.

In the letter, which the Federal Information Ministry has made available to TANJUG, the federal minister informs the United Nations that it is true that a certain number of Hungarians, responding to a call by their national party—The Democratic Union of the Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM]—have avoided the mobilization and have left the country. A certain number of secondary schools and university students have left Yugoslavia, in response to the DZVM's call, to continue their education in Hungary. It is also true that a certain number of Hungarians have gone to Hungary and other European countries because of the unjust sanctions against our country.

"But," the letter says, "the figure of 50,000 is arbitrary and impossible to prove. The number of Hungarians who have left the FRY is ten times lower than that and they have done it in response to a call by their national party. Not only has there been no pressure by the state organs, but on the contrary they have appealed to the people not to leave the country." [passage omitted]

Montenegro**National Party Withdraws From Government***LD2507155893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 25 Jul 93*

[Excerpt] Podgorica, 25 Jul (TANJUG)—The main committee of the National Party of Montenegro adopted a

unanimous decision today to withdraw its representatives from the republican government: Rade Perovic, vice premier, and Ranko Kadic, a minister without portfolio.

The leadership of the National Party opted for this measure due to the fact that the Montenegrin government has not managed to improve the living conditions for the population of the Republic of Montenegro.

By its participation in the work of executive bodies of the Republic of Montenegro, the National Party contributed to the creation of an impression that Montenegro has embarked on the path of democracy, and therefore the main committee does not regret having decided that its members should take part in the work of the government. However, it has been concluded that the current government is not able to fulfill its promises, and that the governmental posts of the members of the National Party mean nothing other than their token participation in the work of the government. The main committee holds that Perovic and Kadic should not share responsibility for the policy of the government of which they have been members. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

Bukoshi Requests CSCE Presence in Region

AU2407154093 Tirana ATA in English 0816 GMT
24 Jul 93

["The CSCE Should Adopt Its Own Decisions—Statement of Kosova Premier Bukoshi Addressed to the CSCE"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 24 (ATA)—Dr. Bukoshi, premier of the republic of Kosova, appealed to the CSCE member countries with a written statement, which says: "CSCE should adopt its decisions." He called on it to keep involving in preventing war in Kosova. After mentioning all the conclusions drawn by the CSCE in regard to the situation in Kosova, Dr. Bukoshi said that the CSCE mission should be present in Kosova and the decisions adopted by it in this regard should be implemented.

The statement of Premier Bukoshi says that the decision of Stockholm to establish UN troops in Kosova remained only in paper. We regard it as the only way to save the region from catastrophe.

It is clear that the establishment of CSCE mission depends on the approval of the member countries. At the moment the so-called "Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" is not member of CSCE. Then, why should CSCE ask Belgrade what to do?

We are resolute to follow our peaceful road. In this regard and guided by these aims we believe that CSCE has done a good job in Kosova and it is necessary to renew the long-term mandate of the mission, the statement says.

In closing Dr. Bujar Bukoshi stresses:

The U.S.A., in the capacity of the most powerful CSCE member has much to say and to do when it is about Kosova. The citizens of Kosova are grateful to the U.S. contribution and called on the Clinton administration to support our peaceful efforts and put greater pressure on the criminals who ignore them.

DSK Leader on Possible Unification With Albania

LD2307125193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 23 Jul 93

[Text] Pristina, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Fehmi Agani, vice chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosova [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK], said at a news conference today that "the basic commitment of the Albanians to the Republic of Kosova has not changed, and the tendency toward the unification with Albania is gaining ground."

The option of changing borders is not a new thing, Agani said, because it has been part of various solutions for the Kosova problem. Agani avoided direct comment on demands to ban the DSK, but said: "We will continue working, but I am not going to debate now whether our work will be legal or illegal."

Separatist Leader on Foreign Support for Cause

LD2607140393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1207 GMT
26 Jul 93

[Text] Sofia, July 26 (TANJUG)—Adem Demaci, a leader of the separatist movement of ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosova and Metohija (Kosmet), has threatened the Serbs they will lose their southern province in case of an armed conflict, because the Albanians will be backed up by the U.S., Germany, Italy, Austria and Albania.

"All is possible, but I do not believe that the Serbs will dare foment the conflict that will be another Battle of Kosova over which they will be crying for another 600 years," Demaci says in an interview in the Sofia TRUD paper on Monday. In 1389, medieval Serbia fought and lost its Battle of Kosova in Kosmet against the Turks, falling under an Ottoman imperial occupation that lasted 500 years.

In Kosmet, a strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians has been active for long decades now. Its leaders openly advocate secession from the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, that is, from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

"We will be supported by Albania as the state, and behind Albania there will be America, Italy, Austria, Germany," Demaci answered a question as to who will side with ethnic Albanians if a conflict breaks out with Serbia.

Demaci's assertion about the forthcoming conflicts in Kosmet, where the Albanian minority has unreasonably and beforehand been proclaimed the victim of a Serbian aggression, falls within a separatist campaign being led in

the media by leader Ibrahim Rugova about an inevitable conflict in Kosmet that ought to be averted even by a NATO intervention.

Demaci warns that the arrival of American soldiers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYRM) signals that America is serious and will involve itself alone. "By tradition, Italy stands behind Albania, Germany too, and we will be helped also by Macedonians and Macedonia itself because it is in its interest to maintain its independence," says Demaci.

Presented in the article as a "Kosovo Mandela," for serving a long prison sentence as an extreme nationalist in the formerly communist Yugoslavia, Demaci told the Sofia paper that autonomy would not solve the Kosmet problem because it would be only a "temporary solution."

Demaci is an extreme advocate of the idea of creating "a greater Albania" through an armed mutiny of his compatriots in Kosmet.